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POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF KING MAHENDRA

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Political Ideology of KING MAHENDRA

Y. G. KRISHNAMURTI

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DELHI

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MESSAGE FROM
HIS MAJESTY KING MAHENDRA
OF NEPAL*

I have pleasure in expressing my gratitude for arranging the university extension lecture on Partyless Panchayat political ideology. I confess that I am not a political theorist and feel a bit embarrassed by new styles of thought not inspired by the realities of the situation. I rather believe in a mood of experiment and grafting new tensions and data on our traditional social and political concepts in accordance with the demands of the dynamic times. It is this basic quest for a life of ordered liberty and human fullness and choice that led me to the partyless democratic panchayat concept. As you are all lovers of definitional analysis, let me try to state my fundamentals in the cherished academic temper.

We may define Panchayat as a theory of diffusion of power promoting maximum efficiency and choice. It has no room for pockets of power and its regimentation. On the contrary, it has offered the concept of canalised power. In our system, there is a diffusion of power at many levels along with the unity of national feeling.

Hitherto we could visualize democratic politics only in terms of party-system. Propelled by the needs of national existence and international co-existence, Nepal has made a bold innovation by hammering out a new, democratic, political order without political parties. Thus it has created a community of serving citizens with paramount ideals. It has resulted in the growth of community awareness, lessened group selfishness, fostered genuine nationalism, reconciled the traditional culture pattern with the new technological forces and saved the fair kingdom from being convulsed by the subtle technique of pressures.

My political testament is freedom, spontaneity and creative co-existence. My economic creed is all-round growth without exploitation and centralisation. In this profound sense, I believe, there is affinity of thought and quest in reality between Nepal and your country and with each passing year, I am sure, it will assume a richer vintage of friendship for the essential benefit of humanity.

---

*Message graciously sent by His Majesty King Mahendra when the author delivered the Extension Lecture of the Gorakhpur University on "King Mahendra's Political Ideology".

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Dedicated to

SETH RAMKRISHNA DALMIA

AN INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

OF

VISION AND SPIRITUAL IDEALISM

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CREDITS

King Mahendra is a devotee of Dakshin Kali, Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia of Jagadamba and the author of Adi Shakti. They are all the myriad expressions of the same cosmic pervading energy, Adi Shakti. The eminent British classical thinker, Herbert Spencer, had the insight to call the primal energy as the Creator. To perpetuate this monumental emotion and basic quest, Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia has sponsored the Adi Shakti Literary Foundation and offered this volume as its inaugural number.

Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia is that rare industrial pioneer and philonthropist, who has a sensitive feel for traditional Hindu values. His sponsoring this book has no strings attached to it. King Mahendra's thought-model, Dalmia's perennial goodwill and my zest for creative writing have made this volume possible.

Admittedly, there is erratic hitting of sixers on the vexed issues of the belligerent pose of China and the proselytizing zeal of America. I wish to make it clear that this monograph is based on the development of the style of thought by His Majesty King Mahendra, in the interviews so graciously granted to the author. His central thesis is mirrored in the message appearing as the banner pages in this volume. It forms the corner-stone of the book. My appraisal is my personal reactions to the swirl of events.

My heartfelt gratitude and thanks are due to the intellectual family of Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia for the word of good cheer. I am deeply indebted to Sri Madhusudan Raj Bhandari, Principal Private Secretary to His Majesty, for his penetrating criticism and refreshing candour. I thank Shri B.L.N. Shastri, Legal and Commercial Secretary of Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia, for his memorable services.

My thanks are also due to Shri J.M. D'Souza for his splendid co-operation and to Shri T.K. Sengupta of Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd. for the charming layout and tonal beauty of reproductions in colour.

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पु० आरक्षित

1

ARGUMENT

NOTHING changes in the Himalayan world of snows, peaks, rhinos and temples of fragile beauty. Here the mountain-dwellers never get a day older, the creeper never sheds a yellowing leaf, custom never stales infinite monotony and the dazzle of snows never ceases to enchant. It is marvellous to see in the Himalayan kingdom the panchayat set-up which has enabled the Nepali to rediscover his lost political self. The political saga recalls Nepal of the dreams. The dream has its devotees as well as its detractors. However, the Nepalese have a long laugh at the deluded and vociferous outside critics. They light a cheroot and pipe out "Nepal is sweet, *Ram Roo*. There is no place like Kathmandu and no king like Panch Sarkar". One gasps in surprise to see that King Mahendra has transformed politics into the panchayat, a home-fire kept burning for centuries.

King Mahendra is now in the prime of his political life. With

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ingenuity and conviction, he has built up the buffer strategy. He is also a king of intense commitments. In his thought-model, there is analytic stance as well as a central hostility to political and moral cynicism. He is also averse to trends and creeds that abridge human personality.

Both in doctrine and in technique, his panchayat ideology endorses speculation and affirms essences. It is also distinctive for its non-obvious ideas on the role of the monarch in the panchayat set-up. In his kingly as well as personal life, he has imposed on himself an array of disciplines.

In the open international forum of controversy and discussion, his panchayat ideology and framework has received both critical laurels and uncritical rejection. In the India of Indira Gandhi, the king is given the just meed of praise as a clean-sweeping revolutionary. The Russian comment is the cryptic one line: "It survives; it survives partly by the king's ingenuity, and partly by broadening the base of power". In France and West Germany there is a balanced and measured reaction. In America the panchayat has caused a conceptual perplexity. In Britain the raised eye-brow is more in evidence. There is an exposition of its technique in Pakistan: "I bet my life, it is not like our basic democracy but beyond democracy". China sees in it a firm indication of cult-figure and resistance to red-smeared ideas. The reaction of the Nepalese is summed up in the credo: "To be happy is to have a king".

King Mahendra has a three-dimensional personality—statesman, poet and yogi. The fourth dimension which binds and integrates the three strands in his personality-structure is the perennial devotion of his people and the warm esteem of the Hindu realm.

We have given a sampling of opinions as the panchayat has raised the dust of controversy. The king rightly contends that to confront the sceptic is the initial triumph of his ideology. The justification of the doctrinal core is its big step forward. The consolidation of gains will doubtless make it survive. The panchayat process has proved that there is no alienation between power and social ethos, culture and technology, tradition and experiment, patriotism and co-existence. Needless to affirm, the king has not built up this ideology at the expense of truth and values of man.

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The combination of a communist and an intellectual is rare. It is like snakes on the Iceland. There is every evidence to show that in the Kathmandu valley both radical fervour and ideas are imported. The clique is too weak for a violent show-down and too splenetic to cooperate. It wears a most absurd cloak of resistance and thrives on subsidies of embassies. In its ranks are found ex-ministers who are in a state of chronic passivity and mediocre political workers grooved into circles of toadies. Loudness of protest and counter-protests springs from this ill-assorted band of stooges. Their thinking and action are subversive to the conduct of national affairs. They can only understand the signals from their closest foreign patrons. They live in a cloud of generalities and caricature their own national traditions and historical memories. Years ago, the dismissed foreign minister of Nepal, presided over the author's lecture on King Mahendra and a New Cultural Order. He had the low-bred emotion to boast "Nepal's culture came from the North", meaning China. The pressures and tactics of these tycoons are a handicap both to Nepal and its progress. King Mahendra's answer to their smear campaign is that panchayat is the only sanction of the history of Nepal and promises within its framework a free, full and authentic political existence.

Conscious academics have offered doctoral dissertations on the panchayat. Professional politicians are also propagating its doctrinal content. There is a spate of articles in the periodicals. An edifice of para-scholarship has grown around this concept. Dedicated young men and women, recruited to the American Peace Corps, have found carrying its message to remoter parts of Nepal, as congenial intellectual activity. University dons as well as social workers have kept its propaganda wheels revolving.

Mostly it is phantom scholarship and has failed to reveal the dimensions of panchayat. It is an irony of this shadow world of ideology that logic appears better than truth and handwriting better than logic. In his exalted position as a king, the supreme panchayat ideologist cannot tilt his lance at his detractors and critics. The king has thoroughly worked out the panchayat concept, grasped its rival assessments and interpretations and is convinced that vigil, effort and devotion to ideal-ends, can make it glow as a banner in history. He is confident that the panchayat would live up to its classic fullness and appeal.

The panchayat ideology has not yet found a supporter in print in America. Interested agencies are circulating bushels of

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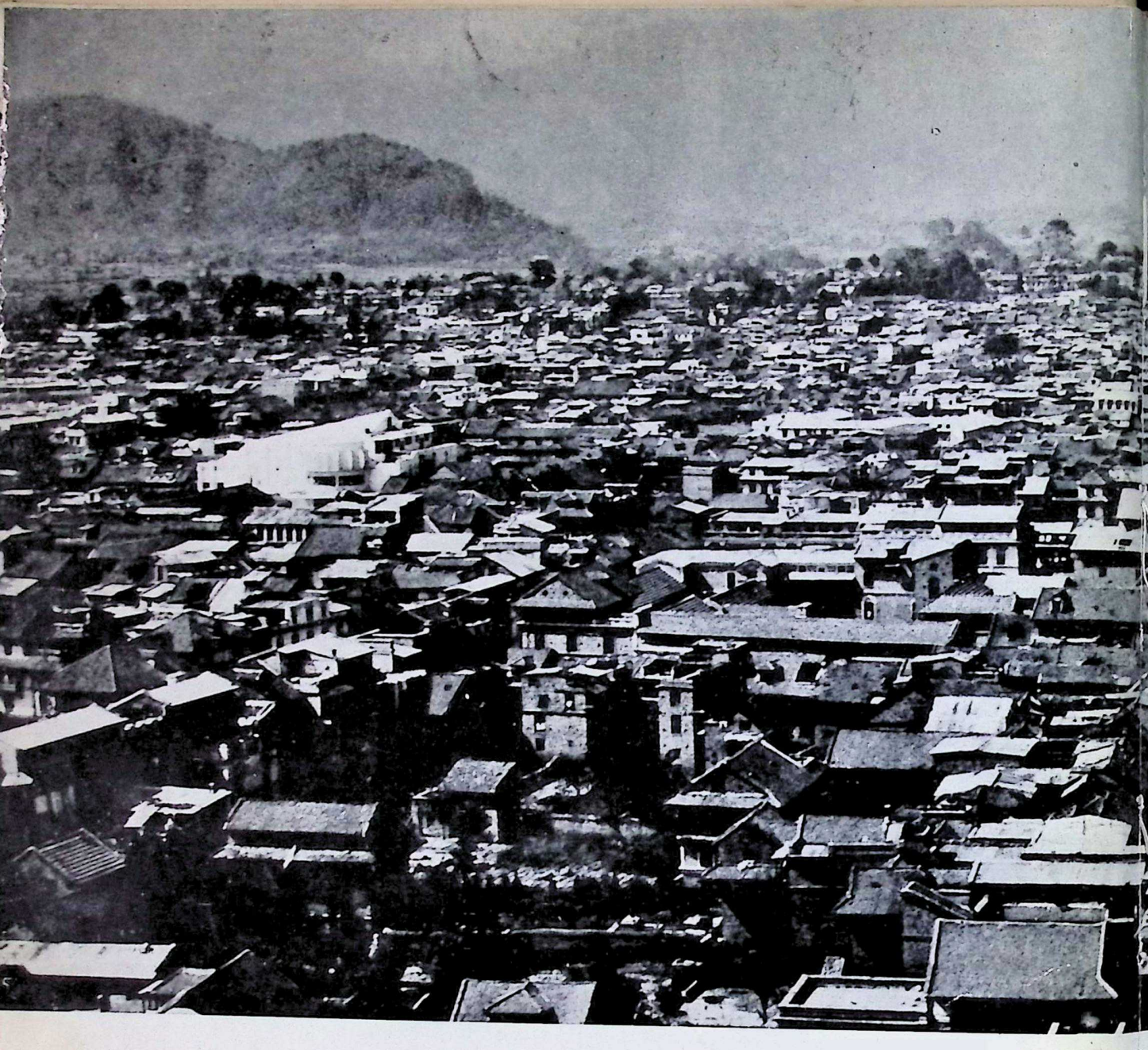

lies like "Nepal is our big headache", "King Mahendra is a military dictator whose regime is supported by ten thousand bayonets", "If all the dollars we have given to Nepal is piled up, it will form the fourth Pyramid". They are also under-playing the king's significant role and spectacular achievements in the short-span. Recently, this racket sponsored a book bloatedly called Thesis-scholarship. It does not deal in cool objectivity with democratic landmarks in

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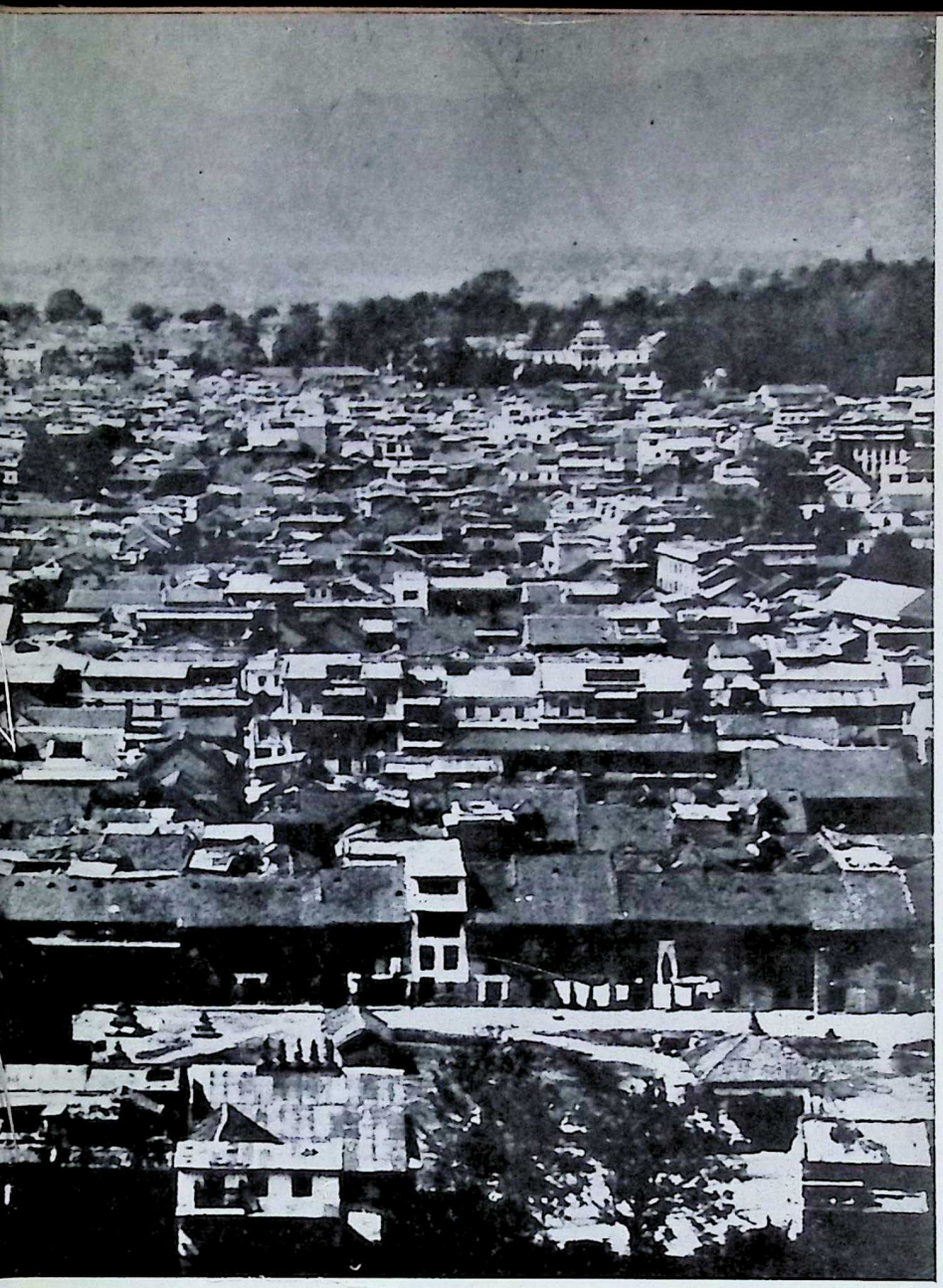

A panoramic view of the Kathmandu Valley.

Nepal but enshrines vestiges of old rancour. It opens with a positive mistake which has a certain degree of blasphemy. The volume is mischievously dedicated to both King Mahendra and a former prime minister who is now in prison at Sundarijal. The book is tenderly solicitous for a guilty leader who hoodwinked the democratic powers and curried favour with the Chinese. This work reeks evil smells, revels in ideological twists and is a tumour of

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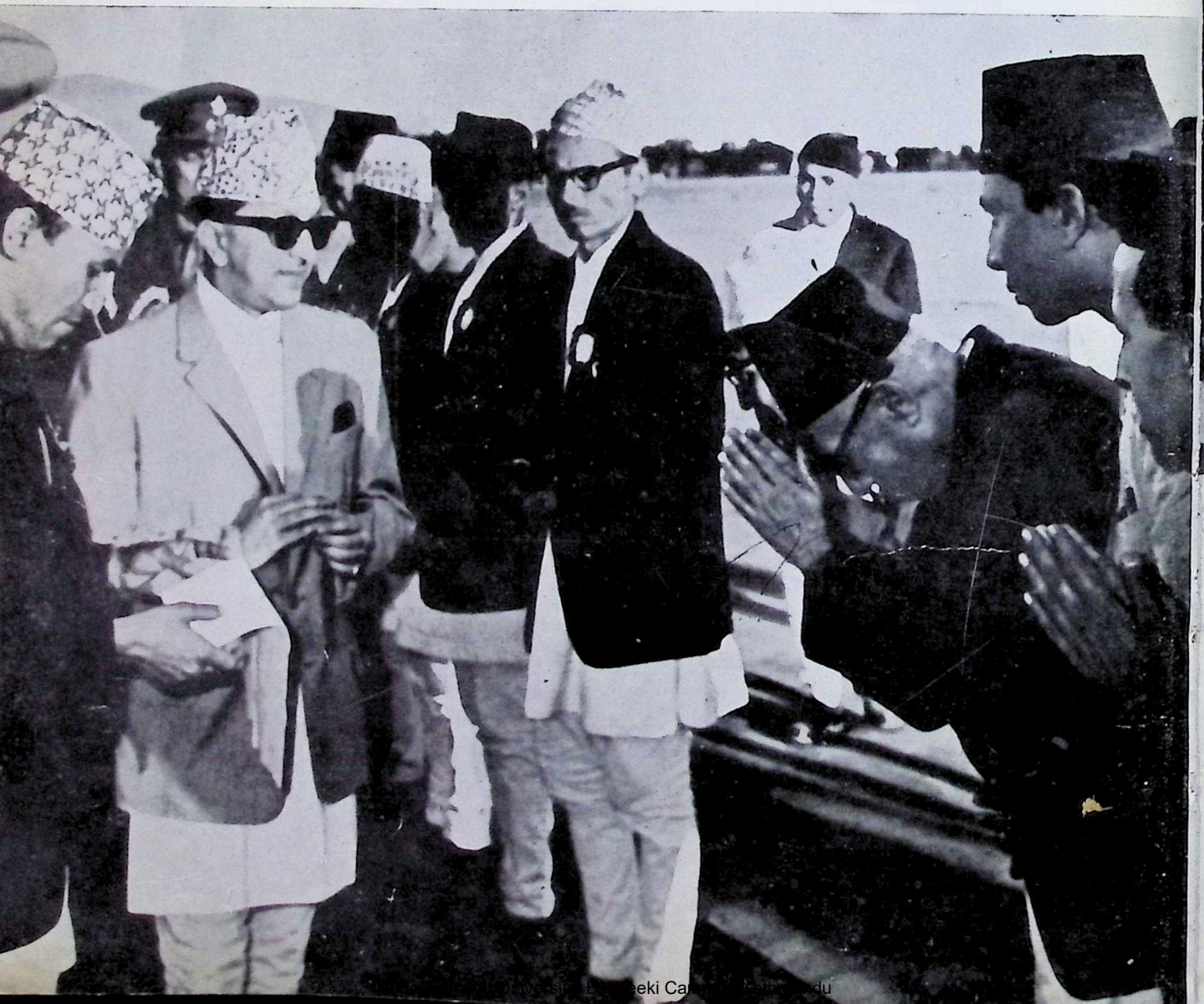
propaganda. When will the Yanks know that to mention in the same breath a towering king and a politician who is an arch-plotter, is an insult to the throne, Nepal, and the great and encompassing Hindu sentiment? If there is no king, the Americans cannot invent one. This very limitation can explain their grudge politics. In South-East Asia such events have shattered the picture of American values and decencies. We wish to plainly tell them that political history should not be seen as a single line of development with its terminus in New York.

It is apparent that the development of any Asian nation on

His Majesty with the members of the Rashtriya Panchayat.



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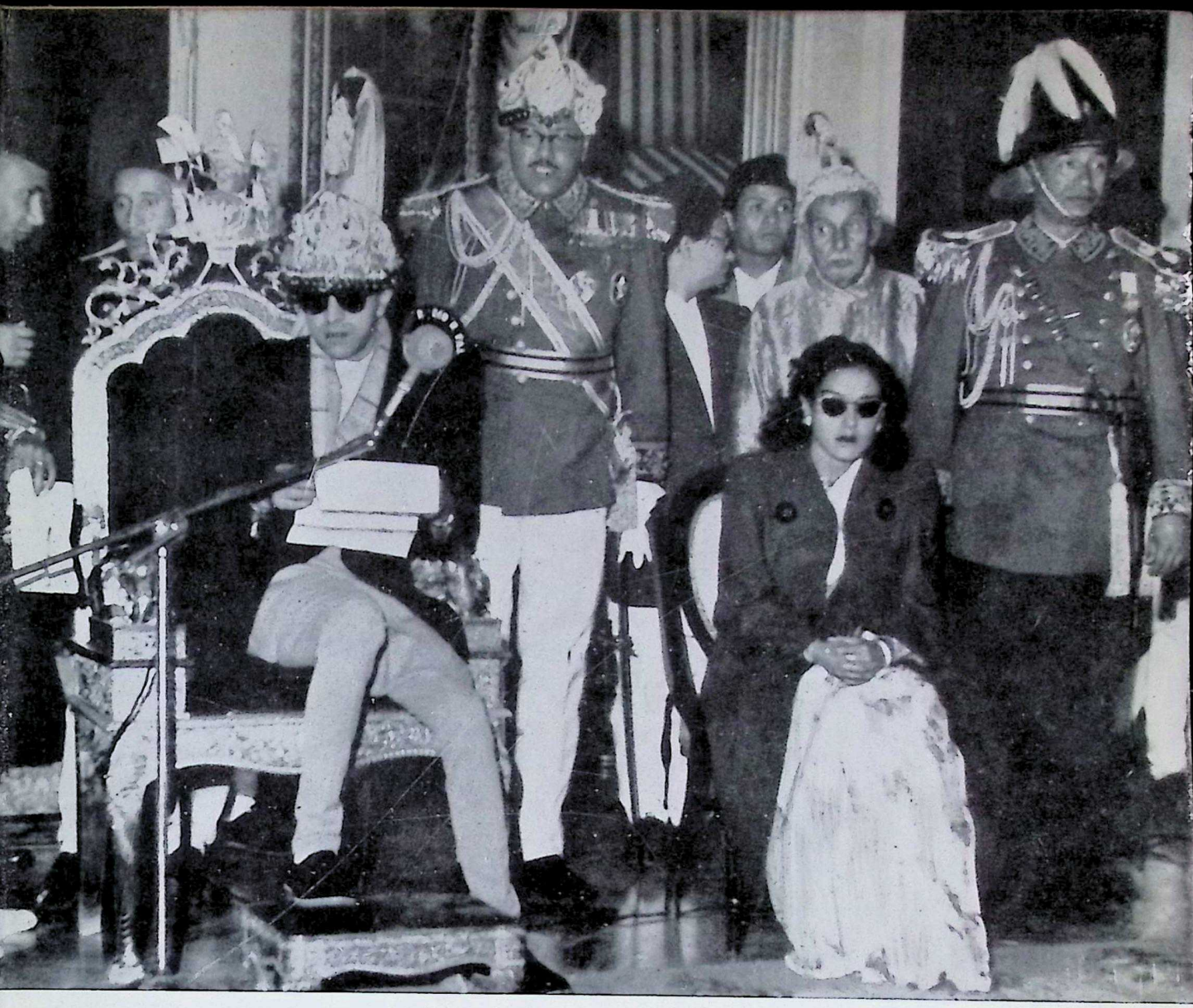

The scene of the first Royal Proclamation.

the traditional pattern is not in West's favour. The world eye-view of an American or Continental is a feeble attempt to find a place for his own brand of civilisation. Contemporary concepts like world-view and co-existence are truths of blood in the case of historic Asian countries.

Moreover, the Americans are no known friends of the Hindu polity. We are aware of the tormented fact that at one crucial stage its envoy extra-ordinary threatened to stop foreign aid if Nepal

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failed to restore forthwith parliamentary democracy and release the political prisoners. He ganged up on his side two other aid-givers. They coolly ignored the emotional side of religious unity and commitment and the reaction of the Gurkhas serving in their armies. The king refused to yield to their curious insistence. He had the vision of the panchayat structure and mastery of its field of tiered excellence. His stubborn stand against half-hints and veiled threats to abandon the constitutional enterprise was one of the greatest contemporary political achievements.

We have not thought it improper to record the sustained questionings about the panchayat. It reflects fully a little of human nature which understraps political and religious proselytizing and foreign aid.

HAS King Mahendra a set of objectives or an ideology? What kind of rule is it? Is it on the Left or Right? Is the Panchayat a one-plank organisation? Why its disenchantment with parliamentary democracy? Can its buffer strategy survive the vicious Chinese onslaughts? Does not political wisdom lie in strong alliances and not in ploughing a lonely furrow?

The outsider, layman as well as the pundit, gushes out these questions. In turn, we might be permitted to ask: But, Left or Right of what road? The Nepalese have a centuried and very different cultural background, social outlook, traditional symbols and growth targets. In terms of Western politics, Nepal is neither Left nor Right, but on a new road of its own.

Once three Frenchmen were trying to learn basic English during coffee-break. They saw a childless woman passing. One learner described her as "unbearable". The second called her "inconceivable". The third stuck the label "impregnable". In politics, the innate shrewdness of the Nepali, has saved him from such awkward encounters with alien concepts.

King Mahendra has lovingly and arduously established the panchayat system for his people, who are dear to him like the apple of his own eye. He is making yet more sustained effort to strengthen its social base. However, Western political theorists distrust, and frequently dislike, any departure from known conventions. Their nagging doubt is that there is no democracy in Nepal. How to cushion their timid fears and atavistic excitement? How

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to make them realise that there are some intrinsic political and social concepts which are beyond the pale of the West? The Atlantic Cousins maintain that the rule of King Mahendra is authoritarian. We recommend them memory tablets. In World War First, half a million Gurkhas perished in defence of the democratic values of the Allies. It is again the Kookrie of the Gurkhas that brought resounding victory to the Allies in World War Second. It is their bayonets that have shielded Hong Kong from being battered by the Red vandals. It is only by an uncomfortable stretch of imagination these political mugwumps can know that the panchayat is the most exotic Himalayan bloom of democracy. With undimmed pleasure they should learn the first political lesson that there can be politics without politicians.

In Japan, a great chain-stores was celebrating an event. It was decorated with festoons and paper-floats. The band was playing a gay tune. As a customer stepped in, the bosses of the stores received him with the cheery words that he was their one-millionth customer and the chief guest of the evening. He politely asked them to show the way to the complaints section.

With a charming gusto, King Mahendra introduced parliamentary democracy. There was a subtle technique of outside pressures. The leaders of the Nepali Congress walked into the Chinese establishment. Even the policy-makers in Britain were alarmed at the hobnobbing of the Nepali Congress leaders with the power-addicts of Peking. The panchayat was an antidote concealed by history for the guilt-politics of the Nepali Congress.

The high-up profiles from abroad who drift across the valley must realise that utterances against the panchayat are not fashionable now. The panchayat is a political system of diffused power between the frame-group and sub-groups. The malaise of Western politics is over-concentration of power in the hands of elite-groups. On the contrary, the Panchayat is a tiered proliferation of power.

It is familiar knowledge that for a few years the Nepali spirit was given a constitutional frame based on Western democratic party system. Soon it exploded out of the picture frame. The king gathered the young forces and gave them a re-oriented traditional mould.

It is true that the American press and columnists have lampooned the panchayat. There is an apparent motive for their

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fierce digs. It has a verbalist bias. If any aid-receiving country refuses to toe their political line, their behaviour becomes embarrassing. It is to be remembered that neither Democratic nor Communist countries, would give aid without some strings attached. As such some return is expected from the receiving countries. In present day politics some States have to toe the political line of the aid-giver, when it serves their interest. But strong and independent minded States like Nepal will not yield to the aid-giver unless it serves its people's interest. Nevertheless, King Mahendra being a Hindu Monarch, has the traditional gratitude for the aid-giving countries. The Himalayan Kingdom due to its strategic location has an important part to play among the South East Asian Nations. It is gratifying to note that U.S.A. has invited their Majesties a second time as State guests. This is rare. We expect that the leaders of United States with an enlightened self-interest would offer massive aid to Nepal.

THE China of Mao Tse-Tung is cloistered in the ignorance to world forces and opinion. The wild burst of its inflamed nationalism and the xenophobia of the Red Guards have made the civilized world, shocked and angry. Its latest outrage in the Kathmandu valley demonstrates that it is invincible in the ignorance of common decencies of life. What should chiefly concern the political observers is the pattern of the Chinese espionage in the Kathmandu valley. We have in our possession an integrated picture of their strategy, band of hirelings and contrived effects. True to the symbolism of Mao's five fingers they have five key men in their spy-net. Mostly they are blown fuse in politics, schoolmasters and traders. However, in an emergency, a telephone from the palace can unnerve and goad them to shift their loyalties. Some of them are purveyors of news to the non-Communist establishments also.

The Chinese espionage has made progress in the valley by working on the emotional levers of a section of disgruntled youth. The propagandists drug them with the opiate that they were the original holders of power in Nepal and the Shaha dynasts are usurpers. The master trend in their campaign is the hymn of hate. This junta is crackling with ambition to weaken the government and wears the mask of left-wing internationalism. Their houses are the back-garden of the Chinese spies.

Two teachers of portentous fanaticism, a former fossil of the national panchayat, a writer of home-baked gossip fobbed off as history; a former prime minister who is now the leader of a flying political squadron are educating the Nepalese from slogans to

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dogma. They have two under-studies: one, a mock-simple book-seller, and two, a Lama who is a professional clap-trap. Of course, they are choked by their own jargon. They form the saga of the Chinese supermarket of espionage in the valley.

And while the campaign of subversion is slowly brewing up in the Kathmandu valley there are also a caucus which are in league with them on the Indian side of the border; one, an exile Nepali communist in Banaras; a Nepali Congress leader and his crafty father who are bulldozing to clear the way for the Chinese, and a barrister in Calcutta; a Non-Hindu deputy minister at Lucknow; and two Nepali merchants in Darjeeling. Their presence and activity are harmful to Indian interests also.

The Chinese embassy tactic is telling. When an outsider rings up and asks for an appointment with the ambassador, the reply sharply comes "No English; Speak Nepali". The chiding acts on the Nepali like the uplifting drug.

The obsessive concern of the Chinese agents in the valley is anti-growth. It is their game to lock up old-jade type politicians in a mutually destructive misunderstanding. In their dialectic all growth trends are fake. The aim of the Chinese propaganda in the valley is to drive the thin end of the wedge between Nepal and India; Nepal and the Western bloc and Nepal and Russia. It prepares the radical youth and students for an anarchistic opening-out. It is teaching them to beat the Mao drum with a big stick.

The Maoist doctrine accepts the primacy of a tough moral fibre over military hardware. The introduction of the equalitarian perspective in the army is its second root thought. However, dissensions are growing up between Peking and the senior generals of the thirteen military regions. The quick disappearance of some of its commanders has a story to tell—and a grim one. The Maoist agents in the valley have the intuition of a rat in mapping out the spots where the mass mood can explode. They have built up a good head of steel behind the effort to indoctrinate students, youths, secretariat clerks and merchants. Their report to Peking is that the people of the valley are an unpredictable but governable community. The second observation is that personal and group interests in the capital swamp ideals, political or economic. They are now putting their minds to work on the indirect approach to the middle class culture of the valley. At the moment they are not determined about fanning out into peasant strongholds. They

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are aware of the stakes — a place of exile or phase three government.

The crypto-communists of the valley are reluctant to opt for this hard line. They know that the king has given a better deal than the Nepali Congress and speculate that his government might stumble on the formulae for economic growth and community building. The king has a firm hold on the army, the state mechanism and the bureaucracy. Furthermore, he has purged with speed his personal staff, army command and key officials in the secretariat. The disconcerting truth is that within the flicker of the brow the nation will rally round the king. The old hawks see that they are working against time and the historic current.

KING MAHENDRA has brought a traditional eye to the political scene. Smiling but unbowed, tolerant but robust, diplomatic but with a personal style, King Mahendra declares that traditional insight is the first condition of the Himalayan politics. He has gained a foothold in the stream of events and, this is why, his thesis of triple integration—of mind, flesh and tongue, had winged some heat in the corridors of contemporary history. In history, political and social goals are either forgotten or obscured. But, the zeal and vision of a king lights up its vast tracts. His panchayat ideology is at once an affirmation of the virile essences of history and a signpost to the future. Few can deny that a robust political ideology is the kiss of history.

Once an underwriter sent a wire to a society lady asking whether he should embalm, just bury or cremate her mother-in-law who died the previous night. The lady wired back: "Take no chances. Do all the three". King Mahendra has taken no chances. He has embalmed, just buried, exhumed and cremated parliamentary democracy.

Monarchy and panchayat have been the oldest alliance in history. It dates back to the Rig Veda (5000 B.C.). The masses are supporting King Mahendra both out of loyalty and conviction. As a political virtue, loyalty may wear thin or waver. But conviction will always bring consolation and strength. Conviction in the Nepali life means an ideological battle — patriots versus predators. However, since 1960 there is an abject surrender to the panchayat spell. Since its inauguration, there has been a change in the quality of life.

America is called a nation of problem solvers. What millions

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of admirers of King Mahendra expect from the Americans is not a cure-all but a spirit of forbearance. They have showered on the Himalayan king the sharpest words, and occasionally a bouquet.

If the position of the king is eroded then the last and strongest bastion of democracy in the Himalayan outposts will crumble. The best support America can give to the king is by taking a harsh line with the Nepali Congress exiles who are hand-in-glove with the agents of Peking. The high-ups in Washington must also learn to draw a clear distinction between the peerless Hindu monarch and a tribe of noisy politicians of shifting loyalties. There is abundance of evidence to show that during the brief spell of parliamentary democracy in Nepal there was a total sunset of truth, shared insights and community awareness. Instead there was built-in cynicism and a drift to political chaos.

The question on the lips of millions is: can the buffer strategy of Nepal survive the wrath and onslaughts of China? It would be safe to infer that in no circumstance the world forces will allow China to hold a threat to the sovereign integrity of Nepal. Military observers know that China is not yet ready for a nuclear bang and will avoid embroilment in World War III. Furthermore, her land frontier is vulnerable from seven points and can be torn like a ribbon. Jean-Paul Sartre has a sob for doomed China: "The U.S.A. is convinced that the U.S.S.R. will shrink to the end before a show of force. It counts on the U.S.S.R. impassively watching the humiliation of the massacre of the Chinese".

It is true we have skirted and not answered the question: What would be the strategy of King Mahendra in the reality of an imposed Chinese war? This million-dollar question sets a large problem for India, the Anglo-American bloc and Russia. We can foresee that India in a twinkle will declare a full-scale war on China and rush to the rescue of Nepal only when there is a specific request from that sovereign Hindu kingdom. The Anglo-American bloc will doubtless supply an array of lethal weapons to Nepal through India. They will avoid space violations and directly stepping into the crucible of war. By opening a second front Russia can paralyse the Peking brigands.

The best armour of King Mahendra is his buffer strategy. One who opposes his enlightened policy or weakens his neutralist standpoint is a friend of Peking. If Nepal is polarised into a democratic camp, who will guard her common frontier of eight hundred miles with China? In international politics a buffer state is deli-

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berately encouraged as it is the regulator of tensions between two giants. It is true that in a modern nuclear war neutrality is a mere academic figment. A nation might declare from the house tops that it is neutral, but her neutrality depends on the attitude of the enemy. Nevertheless, in recorded history, no other nation has shown that will-to-self-annihilation than the land of the Gurkhas. There is a profound utterance in the Upanishads that only a person who has shed fear can walk in bliss.

When a Kirat mother gives birth, she rushes up to the open holding the new-born babe in her arms. Pointing to the stars she prays they should take away the heart of the babe and replace it with the heart of a hunter. Annihilation before a moral symbol is a golden thread in the culture history of Nepal.

In this tormented hour, the greatest consolation and strength of King Mahendra lies in the new diplomatic line developed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. This remarkable lady in world history has succeeded where illustrious leaders failed in creating a harmony of interests. She has the gift of friendship, a rare self-command and a deep insight into the structure of politics. The monumental emotion binding India and Nepal is a tribute to her statesmanship.

Without a wee-bit exaggeration, we might say that India would be proud to see every Nepali blossoming out into a full-blooded patriot. He should owe his primary loyalty to his far-sighted monarch whose idealism and courage is writing an epic. He should be neither pro-India nor anti-China, but should not weaken his faith in the cherished values of his land. His heart should become a bastion of human ideals. It is difficult to write a more daunting sentence than the one Sartre has penned: "An anti-Communist is a cur, I will stick to that". By the same token, we might assert: "A person who is anti-king is the dupe of history".

It is vital to remember that in international politics there is the principle of dynamic *status quo*. The world powers will not allow a big power to swallow its small neighbour and upset the political balance. This apart, the day Nepal is over-run and enslaved by China, millions of Gurkha, Rae, Limbu and Magars, the finest land army in the world, can form the crack-troops of the Chinese slave-makers. If the victorious China can mobilise and equip them, it can enslave the whole of Asia. There are over half a million Gurkhas in the Indian Army and nearly a lakh in the

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British. If the Gurkhas form the spearhead of the Chinese army, it will create the biggest embarrassment in war history.

In the Mahendra era we can catch a glimpse of the fascinating cultural milieu. While most of the nations on the 22-degree parallel are in a state of disintegration and growing uncertainty, King Mahendra is watching from the capital, an ugly trend stalking its head up. While the latest outrage of the Chinese in the Kathmandu valley calls for an apology, the moral subversion carried on by the padris is equally disconcerting. It would be pertinent when we refer here to the intended irony concealed in the benevolence of Anglo-Saxons. The irony consists in the remarkable capacity of these aid-givers to convert the fighting classes—Gurkha, Limbu, Rae and Magar—to Christianity. The conversion of the warrior class would be a part of the dominance and expansionism of the Atlantic Cousins' sphere of influence in the Himalayan belt. The basic aim of the aid policy is to extend the Nagaland ulcers into the Himalayan kingdom. According to this plan, the padri joined the luggage van of the aid-giver. There was a galore of conversions. The vigilant and perturbed king clamped the moral curfew. Laws were passed in quick succession to ward off the danger to the Hindu fabric. Today, in Nepal, the conversion of a Hindu into any other alien religion is an offence. Preachment against Sanatana Dharma, the omnipotent moral law, is disapproved and penalised. Cow slaughter is a heinous offence and the cow is given the constitutional status of a national animal.

The rigour of the new laws made the padris to take to their heels and they encamped at Bettiah, a missionary base on the Indian side of the border. The foulplay consisted in converting innocent Nepalis at Bettiah and sending them back home. The new Christian commitment resulted in social isolation. Moreover, the primary aspect of it was job, doles, carrot-grants of cash, education, training in nursing, clothes, medicines etc. It had no aesthetic or moral quality as their consciousness was at the exploit level. Soon the converted Nepali was strong-armed into Communism. To him Communism became the positive symbol of love and a heightened life.

Some members of the national panchayat have suggested new ways of looking at this tangled problem. In their view, a ban put on the converted from entering Nepal for a period of six years would be effective. We wish to make it abundantly clear that Nepal does

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not like to get rid of Christianity, but it will hound out the padri who practises sleight-of-mind.

Christian brain-washing has also started in the convents. The nuns and reverends din into the ears of the teenagers a myth which is too tall to swallow. They tell them that the Hindus of India are different from the Hindus of Nepal. They should raise a salute to the Buddha and not to Krishna. Though these nuns have given a pledge not to preach against the central Hindu beliefs and practices, with primitive glee, they say that their "superficial self" was a party to the commitment. Their arch-angel is a sex maniac, who was thrashed and thrown out of Patna. The problem before the cultural elite-groups is: How to enable the padri to emancipate himself into a clean-selfhood. It would be the swift doom of the padri if he fails to observe the law of life in the Holy Land of Pashupatinath. It is familiar knowledge that an inner vision of value or light resulting in the change of religion is a stupendous moral event. Admittedly, the subsidised zeal of the padri which creates a sense of guilt, isolation, double stink and hatred for national symbols, is a self-destructive enterprise.

EARLIER, we have diagnosed the boomerang effects the Chinese expansionist ambitions have produced. The only check against its corrosive forces is a security pact. We re-state the proposition that a little entente is the only remedy to call a halt to the Chinese aggression without resorting to war. It is cheering to see that India's plans are carefully worked out for the defence of the Himalayan frontier. With air cooperation from the entente she can muzzle China which has not yet fully developed its nuclear bang. Pakistan's flirtations with Peking are particularly ominous. As Pakistan owes its very existence to America, a snub will do the magic.

A diplomat once wrote: "A coherent system of alliances must pre-suppose that one's allies are also allies with one another". It is such idealism and friendship backed by military agreements that can carry Nepal through the coming stormy period. With mounting Chinese pressures and troubles boiling on the Himalayan borders, Nepal should come to an understanding which is something analogous to a military pact. It would be an encouraging symptom of a fruitful policy and fraternisation. The American approach to the personality and the ideals of King Mahendra should be less partisan and more sympathetic. Its vigilant curiosity would be more rewarding than supporting moral vacuity and spurious

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trends. Then only the aid spirit which America has pioneered along with India will flower for all time.

One of the shrewdest diplomatic observers in the valley pointed out that very soon the second phase of the Chinese crisis would open. The small nations will have to encounter its ruthlessness. In any weather, Nepal will face the second bout of tensions with its chin up. America will capsize its own policy and success if it is slow in understanding the historic role of the king. This is not the hour to recriminate but to reinforce action. An entente between Nepal, America, Soviet Union, India, Britain and Israel will make China feel jittery.

Meanwhile, the elite-groups in the valley should not make demands antagonistic to the new and high responsibilities. Their peculiar capabilities should shine out in defending the panchayat ramparts.

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2

PANCHAYAT CONCEPT

THE concept panchayat is integral to the living human society. It gains in its lucidity and meaning when it is not studied as a thing-in-itself. When we define and identify the basic epochs in Hindu polity, we find that its political wisdom is enshrined in the panchayat. In the history of Nepal, only for a century, the panchayat concept failed to respond to the given historical challenge. When the Ranas rose to absolute political power, there was an interregnum for hundred and seven years. This brief eclipse apart, geographical factors, historical pressures and human environment made the panchayat concept dynamically progressive.

The question might be posed, whether the panchayat is a quality of a race or quality of an environment? Without a shadow of doubt, it is the richest political expression of the innately superior Aryan race. The Himalayan setting, a panorama of peaks and wood-wind melody, tumbling meadows and spanning rills, were so

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favourable to its seeding in. The one lesson of history is that in only certain environments the growth of political institutions is possible.

To the political concepts, challenge comes from the historical ethos. When they exhibit a certain degree of toughness, they survive. If not so, there is an arrested growth and the hot-house plan withers away. In the Hindu polity a regime became democratic only after taking the further step of the panchayat. There was also a breakdown of its culture cycle when the panchayat faced periods of dislocation or disillusion.

The story of a political concept is a series of challenges and responses. It explains its periods of growth, drift, decay or fulfilment. The concept should be actively related to the emerging beat of history. By conditioning the thought process and improving the material conditions of existence, it can become a sovereign and living concept. Improvements in mechanisms of control and behaviour patterns have a correlation with its growth.

As in culture-growth, in the history of political concepts also, the principle "Etherialization" is active. When there is a grim social or political encounter, new energies are released in society. There is a shift in the plane of struggle, from material to spiritual.

Their Majesties on their way to the Rara Lake meet the mountain-dwellers.

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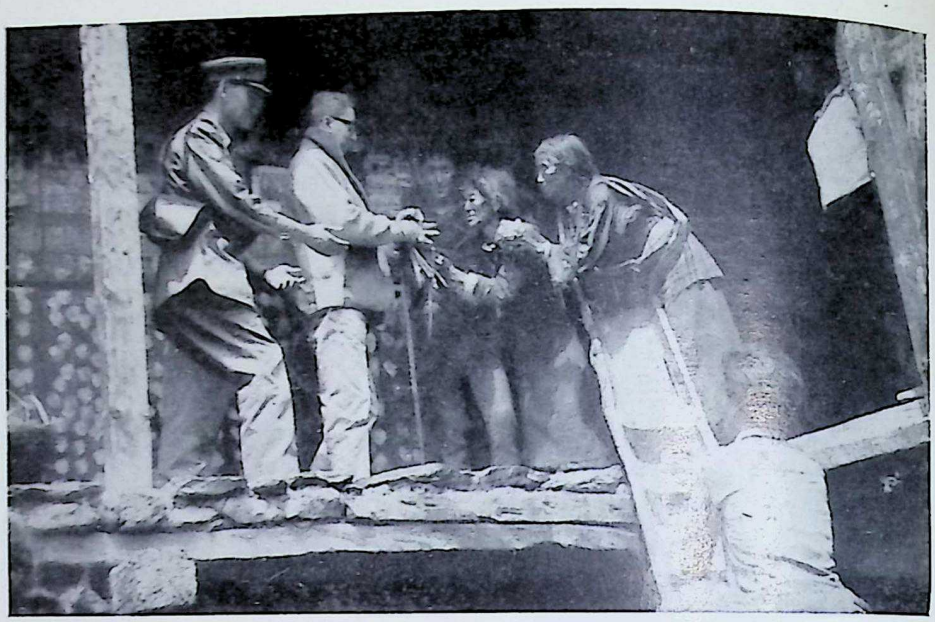

Homage to King Mahendra at Muktinath.

First, the political concept has to root-in and withstand a certain degree of severity. As it endures the chill blasts, it must resolve internal tensions.

Though the present panchayat set-up in Nepal is tiered, its

Her Majesty speaking to the village-folk at Muktinath.

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relationship is more functional than organic. The theory of healthy autonomous cells composing the body-politic is outmoded. A net of related actions, with a focus on the individual, is more convincing. The conversion of power into a new way of cohesive social action is the sign of a living concept. A clutch of creative individuals has always altered the posture of affairs. During their spells of silence or withdrawal, they have a heightened awareness of the human condition. They receive inspiration in a cell or cave and return back to society to elevate its tone. This principle of withdrawal-and-return is so characteristic of the Buddha, Shankara, Socrates, Machiavelli, Gandhi, Mahendra and a host of saints and fulfillers.

The breakdown of a concept is due to the lack of creative glow or capacity in the elite-groups. When the creative oven cools off, there is a crystallisation of values. The withdrawal of allegiance by the masses is also a powerful factor. The loss of command over the self and the environment precipitates the decay of a concept.

In the light of these prerequisites, we now make an approach to the panchayat concept. Panchayat is a mechanism for the control of political and historical environment, with an ensemble of related individual and group functions. It is the aggregate of autonomous cells, knit and held together, by an over-riding national ideal and purpose. As it is more the self-determination of man than the nation, the emphasis is not on a politics of ants and bees, but on a politics of individuals of self-command and choice.

The panchayat is a concept as it is concrete and universal. In other words, it is a concrete universality. We take our argument further and maintain that it is a living concept. The attributes of a living concept are its capacity for redefinition and grafting new tensions and data on it.

Basically, progress is conceptual thinking. It is a leap from 'what is' to 'what ought to be'. It is grounded on a philosophy of change. The next stage is giving an institutional expression to a concept. This means creating a set of institutions grounded on a typology of values. The value-judgment is preserved in restructured attitudes and institutions.

In the course of historical living there are fresh challenges and grim denials. Out of this welter new forces stem out. When the

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institutions have no strength or creative urge to absorb them, it signalises a revolution. A revolution is an explosive short-cut. It marks a break with the past and there is a mad spurt of energy. It acts as the testing-hammer of history. It will show that inadequate social mechanisms and uncanalised power are symptoms of decay and break-up of the established order.

The rise of unity in a community without engendering fanaticism and narrowness is the inspiration and work of a sovereign political concept. In the Orient, the panchayat has this nation-building ingredient. It unleashes the revolution of man, which conditions his deeper reflexes within the frame of a living ethic. From the taboos of a tribe to the traditions of a free society, is a big leap. This switchover or mutation is caused by the new—a new nostrum, idealised self, military threat or technological forces. The living sap of panchayat is enriched by newness.

There is the danger of archaism in shoring up traditional concepts. It is suicidal for a technological society to pick up the moth-eaten symbols and concepts of a disintegrated society. It is true that there is the appeal of tradition and history in any attempt at orientation. But transformation is different from archaizing. In transformation there is a subtle change in the internal structure of values. There is a transmutation of power elements in the panchayat.

Now we should grasp the nettle, revolutionism. It is familiar knowledge that revolutionism means snapping the links with the past. There are also evidences of the hot-gospellers of revolution slipping into the abyss of futurism or negative despair.

It is clear that we should prefer a transformed concept to a weird new one. In the growth-process of a concept, the creative type of leader has a key role to play. He organises the responses of society to a given challenge. In the cavalcade of history we have seen the saviour with the sword, the saviour with the cross and the philosopher masked as a king. Now, the Himalayan kingdom is witnessing a turning-point in history. A king masked as a poet is transforming power.

Dr. Arnold Toynbee has expounded the saviour-type in the historical process. He gives his kudos to "the God incarnate in a man". He is in a proselytising mood when he extolls "Jesus of Nazareth alone conquers death". To be nailed on a cross is not

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conquest of death. We interpret that his conquest lies in his utterance at the time of crucification "Father forgive them because they know not what they do". None can deny that Jesus Christ is the propounder of a religion which is followed by huge numbers on this earth. But the word "alone" of Dr. Toynbee is unfortunate. It is vital to remember that the conquest of death is a spiritual faculty perfectly known to the enlightened Hindu Yogi. Hundred ten years ago, there was an elemental Yogi at Chidambaram, called Ramalinga Sastri. He presented the thesis that the human body consisted of billions of atoms—carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen and oxygen. By generating the celebral fire the Yogi could electrically charge the body and transform it from the five elements to any one element. On one momentous blazing noon, in the presence of the English Collector and the elite of the town, Ramalinga Sastri fixed his gaze on the sun. His body shrivelled up and melted and was absorbed by the sun's rays. He dematerialised his body and transmuted it into the Agni Tattva, the element of heat. This is conquest of death.

There is no monopoly in the field of spiritual action or quest. Every child born on this little planet has the potentiality to blossom into a superman, generate cerebral fire and conquer death.

The creative unfolding of human personality largely depends upon the political and social environment. There are political concepts which depersonalise man. They have produced a toxic atmosphere of alienation and dread. King Mahendra maintains that liberty is not a mere right to cross the ballot paper. It is the creation of that historical and human environment in which an individual can develop his best self. Keeping this end in view, he has hammered out the panchayat concept on the anvil of history.

The Nepalese have changed their make-up and image spectacularly since 1960. They are gay, musical, eager-eyed and have three biggest and most solid possessions — Pashupatinath, the Himalayan snowline and King Mahendra. They are close to God because they are under the spell of snows and the bejewelled sceptre of Dharma.

It is said in delicious satire that like the Germans, the Nepalese are a nation of carnivorous sheep. In other words, they like the same things. In judging the simmering trends in Nepal, temporary emotions should not be allowed to eclipse this basic national trait.

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Their name has passed into legend and song for their magic capacity for self-annihilation.

It is no indication of bias when we link up the resurgent Nepali spirit with the behavioral politics. King Mahendra has introduced this tendency which is glowed by a broadly analytic idiom. Now we should grasp the ends and graces of the behavioral spectrum.

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3

BEHAVIORALIST APPROACH

KING Mahendra accepts as a point of doctrine the relationship between authority and behaviour. To illustrate, in the case of Americans they are politically conservative but believe in organisational freedom. Regarding the conceptions of work and authority, the Nepali tradition and character set a different context. At both the levels, they are conservative. These capacities vary from one ethnic group to another due to deep-seated cultural differences.

The king has clearly understood the traditional aspects of political behaviour. Rightly viewed, behavioralism is at once a technique and a perspective. Earlier approaches to political power were based on analysis and value-judgment. This method accepted certain absolute values like liberty, tolerance, world view and human fullness as paramount in any epoch or clime.

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More and more, we are all beginning to wonder how the king's eyes rivetted on the concept of community power-structure. Like Marxism and other types of left-wing ideologies, it is the touchstone of social reality and fulfilment. The king has unwavering belief in political orientation. The reason is he is convinced that some areas of political life respond to symbolic integration.

In the earlier stage political theories were hooked into tenets which had a ring of finality. Western as well as oriental philosophers and theorists offered rigid postulates or total frameworks grounded on them. Kautilya, Plato, Bishma, Aristotle, Kamandhaka, Rousseau, Hobbes, Locke, Marx, Gierke, Gandhi, Hans-Kelsen and Harold Laski treated political life as great formative issues. These thinkers crystallised their insights and wisdom into axioms which have guided political thinking and action throughout the historical times. The statesmanship of King Mahendra lies in making the axioms operational. He is inclined to the belief that concepts like elite-groups, centres of power, electoral behaviour and distributive technique, can be observed and their reactions measured. This means he had to resort to tools of analysis, methodology, field work, tomes of data and valid inference. Today his technique has a moment of dominance because he has in his possession reports and analyses based on behavioral approach to political groups, election campaign, response to feelers and conditioned reflexes.

The key officials in the palace have trained observers attached to them. According to a pattern given by the king, they collect information, sort it out and draw inferences. Then they submit their reports to the king on the new trends and behaviour pattern of leaders. The check and balance technique has resulted in a high degree of accuracy and truthfulness in reportage.

The king could play his cards well because of the hard data he has collected on the structure of political leadership in Nepal. He could correctly grasp the next move of any political leader or group. He could also sense the trend of party voting. Specially in the general elections the survey research enabled him in advance to know how the people would vote and whom they would vote.

The king directs a team of expert surveyors to collect data to suit a definite context. Earlier he will have hammered out theoretical frameworks. Sometimes he will be pouring out the same data into different moulds. This secondary analysis demands deft handling.

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The breeding-ground of left-wing politics in the Kathmandu valley is the lower middle class intellectuals. On the contrary, the upper classes in this progressive political collective have distinguished themselves in administration, diplomacy and loyalty to the king.

The guiding principle of the king in his behavioral approach to politics is embedded in the luminous statement of Max Weber, "Every scientific fulfilment raises new questions. It asks to be surpassed and outmoded. It is our common fate and, more, it is our goal". At this stage it is vital to draw the dividing-line between behavioralism and behaviorism. Both deal with the control and prediction of human behaviour. They are a protest against speculative method and wisdom. However, they admit that the validity and goal of any science is prediction. In behaviorism there is a scornful rejection of the utility of this method in the spheres of political values and personality-structure. The difference between the two lies in concepts and verbal felicity. A neat twist of phrasing lights up the whole behavioral scene.

The development of the behavioral science has two phases : the Continental and American. In the beginning it came under the potent spell of Freud, Pavlov, Max Weber, Simnel, Emile Durkhelm and Binet. In its second phase, it became the American glory. The empirical method and appeal of evidence, stimulated its further growth. It is estimated that in America there are now twenty thousand psychologists, eight thousand political scientists and an equal number of sociologists and the total federal grants spent on their researches are 210 million dollars every year.

The king's politics is distinctive, recognizable and traditional. There is a wistful yearning for the past as well as a new brilliance while handling facts of field research. The ancient kings could not escape from the compulsions of history. In our own times, King Mahendra observes that political trends are a predictable result. From the design stage, field research, filling the schedules, theoretical constructs and drawing inferences, the gamut of behavioral research in understanding power-structures is complete and enthralling.

The king commissioned the services of a naturalised German expert in the United States in training and equipping the palace espionage squad. The expert's innocent pastime was collecting butterflies in the night, injecting preservatives and measuring their wing-spread. He neatly formulated the riddles of espionage in the valley even though he could not solve them. The king

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could arrive at weighty judgments with the help of his valuable empirical method. When an electoral result is predicted with cocksureness or move of a political group mapped out in advance, it gives the first thrill of a discovery.

Behavioralism puts the pertinent question: How do individuals and groups act as opposed to institutionalised behaviour? Its field of enquiry is more the latent individual attitudes and responses than the manifest patterned behaviour. It eschews a sceptical approach and gives top priority to the basic quest. The rigour of method gives it the discipline of scholarship. This is why, over half a lakh of behavioralist researchers are in the world, and half the number is equipped with doctoral degrees.

The behavioral analysis of the king has proffered a set of conclusions. The working class is liberal in asserting a scheme of benefits while conservative in its demand for political rights.

Fact worship is basic to the behavioral method. A visual grasp of facts and its rendering in precise luminous words are its cherished purposes. Its exponents hold that a scientific dispute should be settled by an appeal to objective facts. Professor Robert Presthus makes the shrewd comment that knowledge must rest on something more than personal authority or insight.

In politics words are weapons. But, the behavioralistic approach is weaponry itself. In this method inferences are drawn from premises, premises are built on field research and field research is conducted by trained observers. It values empirical investigations, group effort and blend of clarified wills. It admits that the error of inference is always present in any inductive method. By bringing traditional frameworks and behavioral approach to the ultimate synthesis, King Mahendra is successful in prescribing ideal goals and moulding the political process.

The king often observes that he prizes above all things a cool interpretation of facts. In his view, tensions are inherent in any political arrangement and behavioralist approach can help in the minimisation of tensions. In his palace laboratory, focus on specific issues, uncommitted observation, stimulus-and-response technique, have enlivened the behavioral method. What animates frameworks and field research is the vision of a monarch who has a sensitive feel for traditional values.

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citizenry. Instead of slogan-power of parties, there is group discussion, mutual give and take, interviewing political officials, attending public meetings and person-to-person contact in the primary sectors, execution of small projects and a social or political commitment. These myriad activities form the matrix of the political process.

The king rightly observes that power and decision broad-based on the distributive technique is much more significant than its concentration in the hands of a political elite-group. In the panchayat the king has found a theme to speculate and build up for the rest of his epochal life. In the politics of King Mahendra, the traditional past guides the observed present and sets the context for the unforeseeable future.

Sandwiched between bleaky Maoist China, with its violence and brutality, and secular India, Nepal is thrust into a dangerous balance. The king has set the example of tradition and trenchancy. His behavioral approach to politics can put a curb on the incursions of alien creeds and transmute uncanalised power into the harbinger of the good. Transformed power alone can foster the happiness of the individual.

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4

TRANSFORMED POWER

WHEN the thrust of an upheaval is spent, it triggers off a series of secondary effects. It disrupts the old habits and takes time to reconcile with the mood of broken expectations. The holders of power must invent a safeguard against a relapse into the old mood and acceptance of the logic of history. It would be an act of statesmanship to have a workable live-and-let-live understanding with the deluded men.

In the beginning of this decade, the problem before the king was how to uphold his sovereign status without yielding to the strategem and pressures of the powers behind the frustrated and baulked rebels. Fire-side chats on co-existence were futile when political powers would not shrink from any treachery or brutality in gaining a strategic hold on the minds of the people of another country. Moreover, in a buffer state, a continuous state of new threats, alarms and suspense would create a toxic mood.

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Monarch and the masses.

The king successfully tackled a revolutionary upsurge, and in a moment of victory, he did not simply stratify his own power. On the contrary, to the surprise of the world, he kept up his democratic promise. While in power, the Nepali Congress leaders had fomented and organised an attack on the political security and popularity of the king. Their two goals — weakening of the position of

The King riding across the remote parts of his Kingdom.

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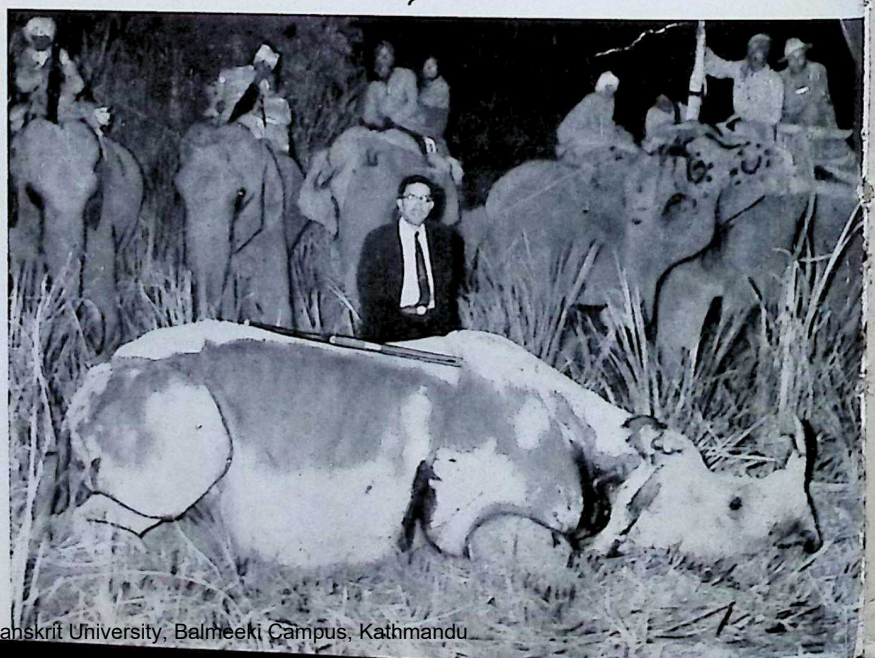
King Mahendra bags a full-grown tiger at Chitton.

the king and preparing the country ripe for the republican and communist order — were manifest and clear. The guilty men were to try the first definite liaison between Nepal and an outside power. Their alliance was opposed to the security of the kingdom and would have nullified its historical ties and traditions. The king had to give a knock-out blow. Otherwise, chaos would have spread and resulted in a break-up of the established political order.

The royal take-over saved the country from being dissolved rapidly into anarchy. While the king was thinking in terms of resolving the dilemma of power, the politician's inmost thoughts



The King muzzles a rhino.

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were on the total seizure of power. The Nepali Congress ranks were deeply split on the question of befriending the army leaders for a coup. A senior colleague of the prime minister, who was sent to create some sort of alliance with the army, broke the news to the king. The ring leaders of the Congress were watching for the dynamite to go off. A nation-wide hate-in was organised by the enraged people who disliked the double-crossings of the Congress. The cry rent the sky: "All for the king". The king also consolidated his popularity by forging a new strategy of power.

There is a feeling among the international socialist groups that the "witch-hunting" of the Nepali Congress signalised the collapse of the socialist legacy. Needless to say, the Nepali Congress government was a satirical footnote to socialism which plunged the country into a nameless agony. The shaggy, blinkered louts and their slanderous, filthy speeches evoked a nausea. Their unspeakable meanness in dealing with the friends of Nepal was a mournful evidence of their ideological pretence. To succeed in their power-game they would not even hesitate to throw overboard the cherished values of the land. Their iconoclastic fury would have mutilated the old gods and put on the vacant throne a partisan interest. They expected social and political change to come in the trail of explosions. It was their hoodwinking and crookeries that produced a king of ideological stature and the stirring concept of the panchayat.

Commenting on the waste and pity of hatching plots, Prof. MacIver makes the wise comment: "In human affairs there is always a fatal disproportion between ends men seek and the consequences of their seeking". To discipline or dislodge the king, the Nepali Congress leaders triggered off a series of actions and counter-actions. They could not control the momentum of that process. The result was, it brought about a total collapse of all their objectives.

Today the exiles are blinded by defeat and polarised by guilt. Their ranks are split by rival ambitions. The mood of fatigue has lowered their morale. A life of anonymity has bred despair. In dazed wonder they look at the young and fresh panchayat politics of Nepal. Now, outside Nepal, in a sort of summit, they are making doubtfully Nepali demands in a doubtfully Nepali manner. Their lament includes scrapping of the panchayat constitution, setting up a revolutionary constituent assembly to draft a new constitution and immediate release of the political prisoners. To achieve these ends, they have openly joined hands with the communists and their alliance has failed to produce even marginal effects. Torn

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by ambition and goaded by unwanted revenge, a former chairman of the Council of Ministers has now put an unwary toe into the treacherous waters. His axis partners in Calcutta do not know that in recent months he went to an ambassador in the valley tearfully supplicating him to suggest to His Majesty that he should take him back as the head of the cabinet. We have the spanner which can spill the multi-coloured beans out of his mouth. The ambassador knows that while in office he artificially created and kept alive tensions between Nepal and a traditionally friendly country. However, the king has matched up to his legend of forgiveness, vigil and a spirit of delight in the adventure of ideas.

There is a lying campaign that the king is playing political chess in the valley and is a veiled power-addict. The panchayat is a smoke-screen. The kernel of the nut is that the king's rule is authoritarian. The critics are bandying about words and in that process generating more heat than light. We would like to put under the microscope the king and examine his reflexes, inhibitions, basic moods and build up his personality structure. Only a rigid sociological approach can enable us to judge his personality and political concept in the true historical perspective.

Sociologists tell us that the ambit of power is the systems of universes itself. We live in an expanding universe without frontier. Power is the agent of all happenings in this universe which is expanding to infinity and not contracting to a point. The entire creative process comes within the folds of power. The ultimate source of power is the primal energy. The word in Sanskrit for energy is *Unergy*; the popular word is Shakti: *Shaknoti iti shakti*. Energy is the power to do anything.

The Hindu conception of the genesis or the origin of the universe has a compelling charm and validity. Out of the primal energy the stellar gases came out. When they expanded and solidified, the super-stars were formed. From the super-stars sparked off the planets. Later, time was created. Night and day followed. The cycle of seasons appeared. Sun, the fragment of a star, shone in the firmament. In turn, the earth, which is a broken piece of the sun, came into existence. Due to the continuous blending and re-blending of the five elements—*Pancheekarana*, life manifested on this planet.

According to the Hindu wisdom, the sun is the source of energy which sustains life on this planet. There is a transmutation of

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elements in the solar interior which releases sub-atomic energy. The heat in the solar interior is estimated at fifty million degrees and the temperature in the solar exterior is 6,000 degrees. Every minute the sun emits 250 million tons of cosmic radiation on this planet. Cosmic radiation has a deep penetrating power and can pierce through a wall of seven feet lead. The atmosphere acts as a barrier and absorbs its main impact. The result is the earth receives the right degree of heat and light which makes life possible. Life can only exist within a stable temperature zone. There are stars which are balls of fire and in the outer space solids melt and liquids freeze. Astro-physicists like Sir James Jeans tell us that out of every one lakh planets, on one planet there is some sort of life. He further observes that there are more super-stars, planets, suns, moons and star-bands in this expanding universe than all the sands on the seashores of the world. In astronomical space and terrestrial time our planet is just a speck. The mysterious energy which is without beginning or end, from which the systems of universes have come out, is Adi Shakti.

In the scheme of Aryan thought, a paramount place is given to the science of sun—Surya Vigyan. There are also kindred disciplines like Chandra Vigyan, science of the moon; Vayu Vigyan, science of the wind. Moghal vandalism and the ravages of time have destroyed the vast tomes of scientific literature. Now, we can only garner the scattered fragments which are quoted in other traditional works. Basically, it is science and not speculation. It is science because it is agreed knowledge and we can predict confidently about the fact which is not yet there.

The most astounding scientific fact about the sun which the West is still unaware is the concept of *Jatyantar Parinam*. According to this theory, in each object myriad other elements lie unmanifested. When the subtle, unseen and dormant element is singled out, brought to an intense focus and treated according to the formula of Surya Vigyan, it shines in its new manifested beauty. To illustrate, a piece of copper does not convey any other metallic sensation to the naked or untutored eye. In it are buried other unseen substances like gold, silver and bronze. The copper rod can be transformed into any desired metal when treated by the sun's rays. The concept *Jatyantar Parinam* connotes transforming one element into another and creating an altogether new substance or botanical life. Maharshi Patanjali, the high-priest of yoga, has summed up the power and appeal of this technique in one axiom: One substance can be changed into another substance; *Jatyantar Parinamah Prakritya Purat.*

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One of the towering oriental scholars of our day, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj has recorded a hair-raising incident bearing on this technique of transforming one element into another. He refers to the demonstration of an elemental yogi, Swami Vishudhananda Saraswati of Banaras. He established the validity of the technique of *Jatyantar Parinam*. He showed a marvel to Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj. He held in his hand a rose and asked the scholar to name any favourite flower. He rapped out Javakusum, a variety of jasmine species. Thereupon the yogi focussed the sun's rays through a crystal Yantra on the rose. Soon it faded, changed colour and disintegrated. In a few winks, out of the stench of perfume and withered petals, the Javakusum flower slowly formed its contours. The event was exciting. Then the yogi explained the scientific aspects of this technique.

He stated the postulate that by the separation and blending of the sun's rays a desired new substance could be created. For this, one should be equipped with the knowledge of Varna Parichaya, Rashmi Viyog and Rashmi Samyog. First, he should have a sound knowledge of breaking a word into its syllables. Then he should know the myriad rays of the sun and the technique of breaking up and re-grouping a ray.

There were three ways of creating a new substance: Yogabal: power of yoga; Sankalpa Shakti, will power and technique provided by science: Vigyan Shakti. There was no antithesis between science and yoga. For, yoga was the supreme expression of science itself. However, through the yogic technique one could not create a substance which was not already there on this planet or in created life. He maintained that the world of creation was a play of sun's rays. Shukla Varna or the purest white ray was the most vital force in creation. It was of Vishuddha Tattva, the pure substance. The practitioner of this technique should have Chitta Shuddhi, for, it was the surest foundation of Tatva Shuddhi, grasping the purest element.

In Samyojana and Niyojana of Varnas, one must learn the order in which the colours exist. Then one can not only create but also destroy objects. It is argued that while creation by the manipulation of rays has a basic quality, scientific creation is not this Moola Shrishti or principal creation. For, a scientist cannot create in his laboratory a fresh living flower while a tantrik can. The practitioner of this science should also master kindred sciences like Bindu Tattva, Chandra Bindu, Kundalini, Chitta Akasha

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Tattva and Shabda Matrika. They all deal with the science of Nad and Varna, the hierarchy, shift and inter-play of light and rays.

The sage further explained with the aid of example this creative process. He picked up camphor. First, he arranged its Varna Mala. The Sanskrit word for camphor is Karpuram. Accordingly the Varna Mala was Ka+Ma+Ta+Ra. First, the white pure ray formed the base. One after another, in the above hierarchy, he grafted four other rays. Slowly, an altogether new substance came into existence in a vacuum. This first part of the activity is Linga Roopa, symbolising the creative eros of Shiva. To make this created object a lasting thing, he had to invoke the Yoni Roopa Shakti, the female energy of Shakti. Because of the blend of Shiva and Shakti, it could possess and retain its qualities and character of camphor. In his view, Shuddha Rashmi or the white sun's ray was the basic colour and it had the power to receive the grafting of other colours. He offered the refreshing conclusion that the play of colours on white was *Samsara* or the world of appearances. He also contended that the colours created not only the myriad substances and species of life but the entire gamut of sentiments like love, anger, hate, jealousy and sex. He laid emphasis on the fact that there was no pure white ray in creation. It was all mixed. First, we should establish the pure white ray and through it try to know the other colours.

A majority of scientists hold the view that in this universe there is change in the total quality and not in its total quantity. The evidential field points to one fundamental entity, radiation, filling and governing the universe. Radiation consists of several types of energy. In it one can find X-ray, Y-ray, Z-ray, infra-red, ultra-violet and electro-magnetic substances. We wish to emphasise that the theory of wave mechanics has reduced the fundamental structure of the universe into systems of waves. The scientists point out that while matter is bottled up waves, energy is unbottled waves. In their view, since primordial times the process of annihilation of matter is going on in the depths of time and space. In some cases this liberated energy has not reached the earth even after the lapse of fifty million years.

By reducing the concept of the universe into the universe of radiation, potential or existing, the scientists have presented new vistas of cosmology. The eminent physicist, Professor Millikan has pointed out the origins of cosmic radiation. In his view, it is liberated in the process of building up heavy atoms out of simple light

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atoms. A case in point is helium. When four hydrogen atoms are hammered into one helium atom, the resulting mass would be 3.97 hydrogen atoms. 0.03 will be flowing out as cosmic radiation. This process of emission has continued for millions of millions of years and the whole ether is drenched with cosmic radiation. Scientists now affirm that cosmic radiation which has very high penetrating power is true radiation and not a shower of electrons. Professor Renger has presented the conclusion that cosmic radiation is a mixture of photon of different masses. It has its origin in the annihilation of matter. The astronomer, Hobble, has offered the striking fact that in the stellar regions light from some nebulae takes fifty million years to reach the earth and its speed of recession is about 4,500 miles a second. It is significant to know that cosmic radiation exerts a certain pressure on space. This accounts for the curvature in space. The scientists have measured the weight of sunlight. In their view the weight of sunlight falling on one square mile area for a hundred years is equal to the weight of a one-fiftieth second shower of rain in that area.

Our basic quest is to know the nature of the primal energy which has created the systems of universes and also grasp the fundamental nature of its structure. New physics has offered the irrefutable conclusion that all matter can be reduced into electrical charges. Even man and his thought-process is a bundle of electrical charges. The warp and woof of this universe is wave energy.

Those who have mastered the physics and chemistry of the sun tell us that without solar energy life cannot exist on this planet. The coal, firewood and hydro-power have the solar heat. Sociologists remind us that power assumes new form at the plane of consciousness. For a heightening of life, man develops a set of norms, the related role of ends and means. In his titanic struggle, power becomes the goal-setting as well as the valid instrument to achieve prescribed ends. The earliest incentive for power was in brute necessity. By snatching power from the physical environment, the children of dawn lifted themselves from the anguished frame of dread, wants, deficiency and the torments of life. Being Homo Sapien, the knower, man became the crown of the evolutionary process and tamed the physical environment.

Power also became a mechanism of control of group and community lives. The most earth-shaking power was the power of knowledge. It enabled man to organise external nature as well as human nature. To use a typical American jargon, knowledge

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is "know-what, know-how and know-when". It is a matrix of myriad hues. The discriminating perspective and synthetic mind has the great creative reach. In the triple realms of mind, matter and essences, knowledge alone can transmute the action and thought of man into pure ethical gold.

The external achievements of power are possessions, organisation and adjustment. Community power gives a halo and builds up the personality of man. Once a top executive developed a sick headache. He consulted the doctor and then curled himself up on the couch of a psychiatrist. The psychiatrist put him a ration of questions, whether he drank, smoked or had sex sprees, He replied 'no'. Then the irritated psychiatrist said that the halo round his face was pinching him.

Prof. MacIver points out that "At the summit of power, throughout the historical record, stands the king, the emperor, the dictator, the man of high caste, the supreme counsel. They are the trappings of sceptre and sword, throne and seal, court and ritual, symbols of the 'divinity doth hodge a king' signifying power beyond the scrutiny of function". In the aeons of history, men have always paid homage to the holders of power. The complex of power which issues out of commands is authority. It is either linked to a function or independent of it. All organisational power is functional. When it is exercised against the interests of the organisation, it becomes arbitrary power. The balance or neutralisation of power by a counter-power, is a magnificent development in modern history. In a mass society there is the inter-penetration of functions and new centres of power are thrown up. There are competing group interests and loyalties also.

The exercise of power is more subtle than direct coercion. The coercive instruments can regulate but cannot create. Though the state is a monopoly of coercive power yet its ultimate sanction and strength is the loyalty of the people. The existence of a sovereign state depends on the force behind its sanction. It is the social complex of traditions and customs that makes the individual law-abiding. It is the enforcement of the rule of law that gives a modern state one of its sovereign attributes.

In political thought power has always been a haunting theme. Being a progressive ruler, King Mahendra has a horrified dislike for absolute power. This is why, the confidence and spirits of the nation rise when they catch his rich glimpse or listen to him. His

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personality throws a lasting spell and his words are felt and remembered.

The people know that he has produced some novel effects by building up a hierarchy of values. Furthermore, there is a certain sense of anxiety in the capital but no hysteria. This is because the king knows what to expect on the next corner on a power-political road. On the screen of history he has projected a forceful personality, which is not borne on by the tide of events but channels it to his political moulds. His cherished concept, panchayat, is transformed power. He clearly likes, even loves, the rubric of religion, society and culture grounded on a hierarchy of functions and transformed and diffused power.

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5

HINDU KINGDOM

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

POLITICAL theorists of stature have endorsed the proposition that a state should be grounded on a living ethic. Otherwise it is built on quick-sands. The view of legal positivists still prevails that a state is a monopoly of coercive instruments. Its will is paramount within its geographical ambit. The question naturally arises, are there no other competing loyalties in a modern power-political state? Admittedly, the religious institutions and corporations based on trade union lines have a certain degree of autonomy. In their own spheres they give their peculiar stamp to the individual consciousness. Nevertheless, the fact remains that only the state enshrines the supreme coercive authority.

Whatever may be the brand or stripe of the state, the distinguishing symbols of sovereignty are three: the right to declare war or

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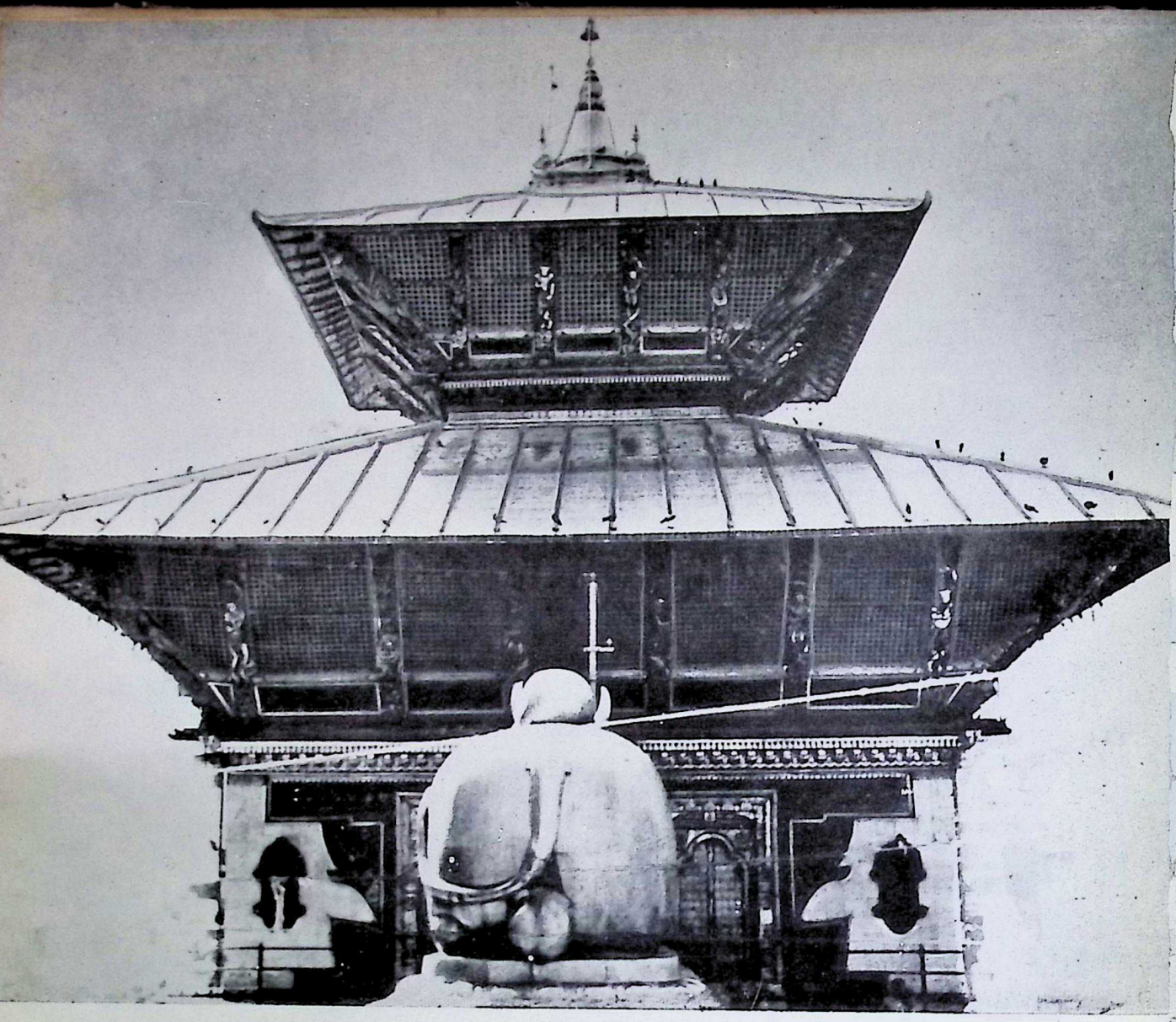

The Holy Pashupatinath Temple.

peace, the right to neutrality and the right to exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction over every one of its inhabitants. The international jurists as well as constitution-makers have accepted these basic conditions of statehood. However, according to the eminent jurist, Professor Hans Kelsen, when a state voluntarily imposes some checks on its sovereignty then there is no loss of it. A case in point is the British Parliament and its self-imposed limitations on corporations like NICKY DICKY, which have a trade union character. The British Parliament cannot legislate over these bodies even though it has the power to make financial grants for them.

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Furthermore, Britain has leased some bases to the United States and the Parliament has no right to control the military operations from there. These are two glaring instances of voluntary abridgement of power by the Parliament.

The Hindu political theorists like Kautilya, Kamandhaka, Bishma and Raghunath Suri have maintained that politics is the art of manipulation of the instruments of power in the interests of the community. According to them, the king is powerful but Dharma is the shield of the powerful. In other words, the absolute and universal moral law prevails over the entire realm and conditions the deepest reflexes of the ruler. In the Hindu polity great emphasis is laid on the personality-structure and trained capacities of the king. The ancient texts on polity declare that kingship is elective and not hereditary. Even in the case of Lord Rama, his illustrious father, Emperor Dasaratha, had to summon the council of elders, enumerate the sovereign virtues of Rama and appeal to them to elect him as his successor. There are also myriad instances like the sons of King Sagara who were either banished or beheaded for their subversive activities.

The king was swayed by a fundamental moral tempest and respected the insights and formulations of the elders in the royal court. Specially, venerable sages like Vasistha, who had mastered the Hindu lore, acted as his spiritual as well as temporal guide. The epics are replete with instances that when a king was intoxicated by pelf, the moral lash of the sage produced a chastened mood in him. In the ancient statecraft the training of the prince in all fundamental and social sciences as well as diplomacy and behaviour-patterns was elaborate and rigorous. The education for statecraft and leadership included a knowledge and effective use of the lethal weapons. According to Manu, the highest morality is to defend the frontiers of a country. One must be ready to annihilate himself before the national symbol. The familiar ethical tag on the lips of millions is that the blissful moments in the heaven are a mere dust in the historical balance when compared to the weight and resonance of patriotism. In the Vedas, in the section bearing on the Prithvi Sukta, invocation to the Mother Earth, evocative lines are written on the power and glory of the geographical personality. The geo-political conception of the state is brought to an intense focus in the Vedas. In brief, the Vedas are the fountainhead of spiritual, moral, political, aesthetic, sociological, economic and historical values. Even sciences like astronomy, mathematics, archery, medicine and chemistry find their tap root in it.

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The derivation of the word 'Vedas' consists in *vid gnane*—self-discovery. 'Know Thyself' is the banner of Aryan thought. The Vedas have two broad aspects, the Artha Bhag and the Brahmana Bhag. While in the Artha Bhag there is an intense probing into the reality behind all realities, in the Brahmana Bhag patterns of sacrifice and ritualistic worship are given. The Vedic sages have affirmed that the king symbolises the moral and historical ethos. He is there like a king-pin in the community set-up to

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The masses idolize their Monarch.

enforce the rule of law and preserve the balance of the functional web. In periods of turmoil, the loyalty of the citizens clustered round the king. The holy smoke went up from the hermitages to invoke the divine grace on the sovereign and preserve the unity and ordered liberty of the country. The political process was linked to the moral ethos and the result was power worked out its destinies within the framework of absolute values. In the Coronation Oath, the Vedic king swore: "May my life and offspring be cut off if I

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His Majesty inspecting the Girl Guide Raliy at Kathmandu.

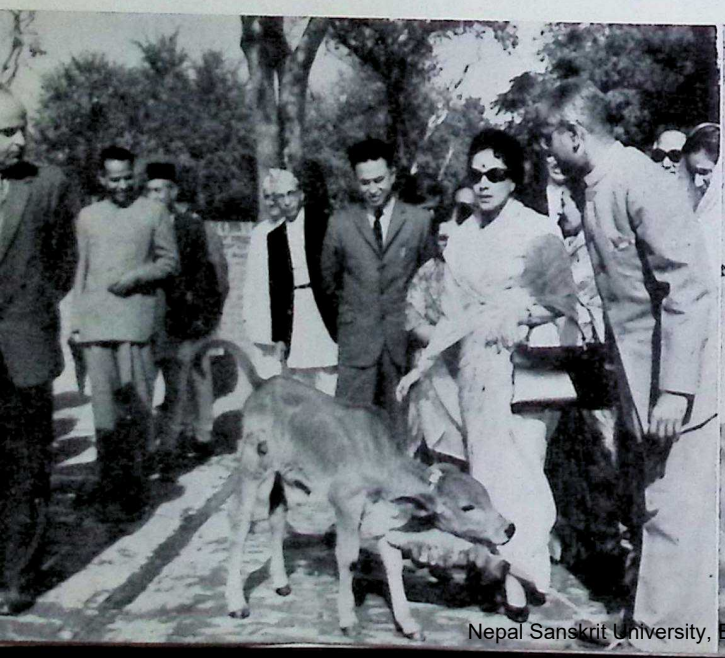
A function at Rashtriya Nach Ghar (National Dance Academy).

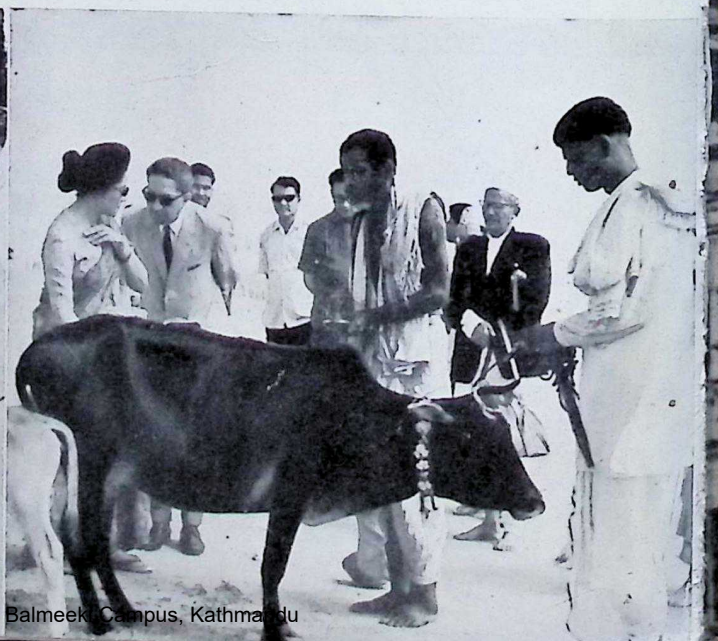
work against the interests of the people". It is clear that what sustained a kingdom was not a monopoly of brute force but a pervasive community ethic and the sway of an absolute moral law.

The power-addict thrives within the folds of absolute authority. In the historical epochs there are several instances of a king or potentate, with a vaulting ambition, erasing his identity with the moral norms. Such tormented regimes have unleashed the forces of the underworld and brought about the long years of decadence. Political concepts also have their moments of fulfilment as well as a drift to decay.

When we look across the chasms of history, we find the Aryan kingdom extended upto the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. The great

Their Majesties gifting away ceremonially the cow (GODAN) at Puri Jagannath.





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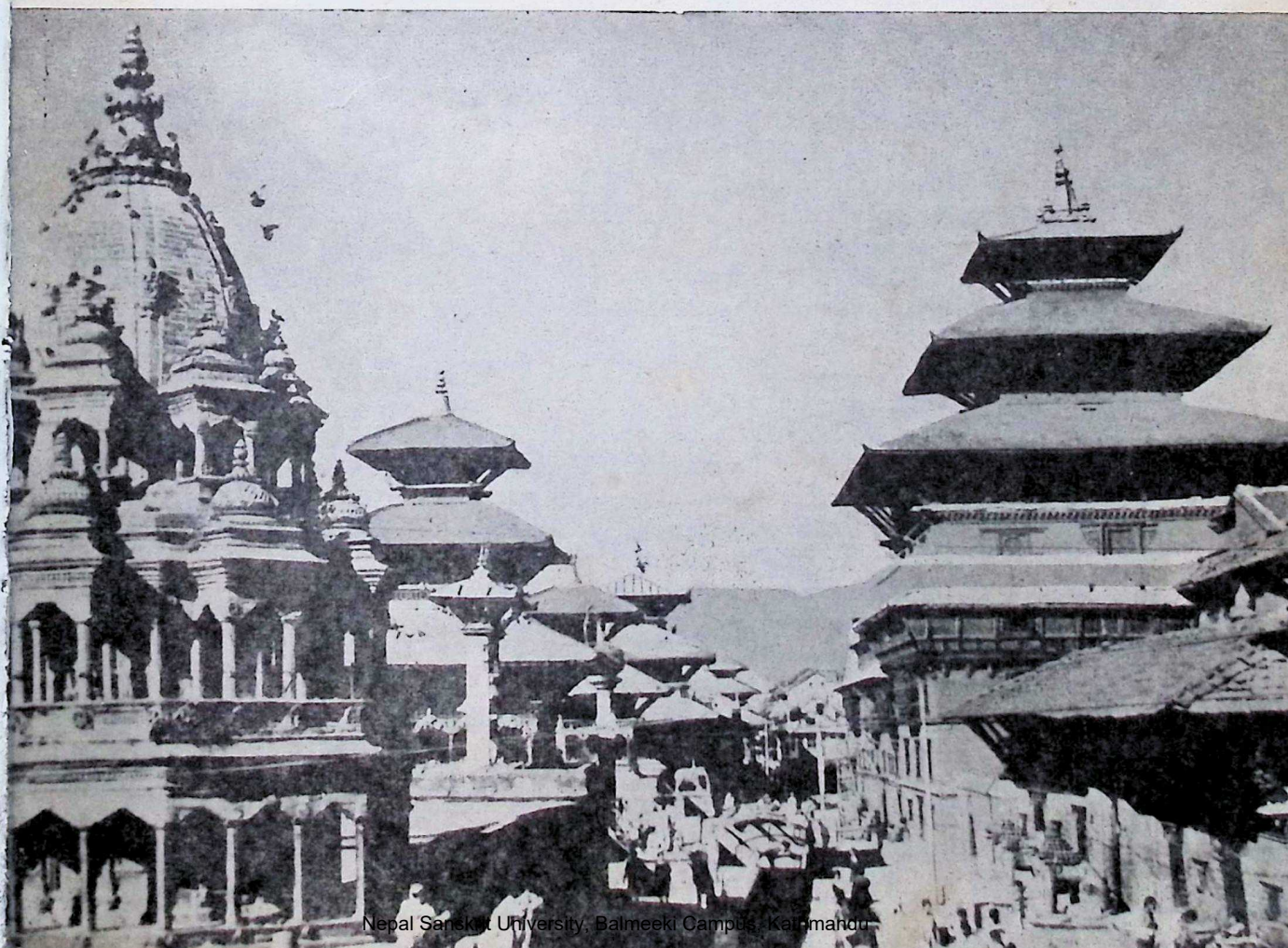
Child of the Muses, Kalidasa, has described the might and sway of the emperors Raghu and Aja in his great classic, Raghuvamsa. He mentions that the territories of these Aryan emperors broadened up to the river Tigris. In the historical times there was the failure to respond to a given challenge. The result was decay and break-up.

In the Himalayan nest, ringed on all sides with grim peaks, the precise and enchanting snow-line and the sunlit valleys, Kathmandu shines as the bastion of the ideals of the Hindu polity. King Mahendra who enshrines and transmits the virile essences of the Aryan heritage, is the only reigning Hindu monarch on this planet. Naturally our pen warms up and perennial joy floods the mental landscape when we chronicle his historical greatness. There was a determined bid by a combination of powers to destroy the Hindu character and emblem of this historic kingdom and give it a secular mask. We are deeply conscious of the epic courage and determi-

Krishna Mandir at Patan



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nation showed by the King in those agonised years. He had to withstand a subtle technique of outside pressures, listen at home to the rage of hirelings, strike a neat balance between opposed interests and walk on the tight-rope stretched between traditional aromas and secular blandishments.

LET us try to grasp this nettle of secularism. Rightly understood, secularism means a healthy respect for all prevailing institutional religions and creeds within the ambit of a state. It underpins world-view, tolerance, dignity of acceptance and the creation of a harmony of interests. It is double irony that only in some of the modern secular states we see the bombing out of these ideals. Communal flare-ups, blood-baths, inflamed nationalism, the enthronement of one interest in the seat of power, group and regional selfishness, heroes of the black market and a forbidding catalogue of low morale and blitzed values are in evidence in these secular states. On the contrary, in Nepal there is not a single instance in recorded history of the Hindus and Buddhists at cross purposes with each other and indulging in grim arson and loot. Their brother-love and perennial devotion to each other's gods, symbols and certitudes, are a golden page of Nepal's history. On the Poornima (full moon) night, the crown of Lord Buddha is placed on the head of Bhagwan Pashupatinath and a heart-warming spiritual event is witnessed. We wish to point out here, on that gloried day only the Hindus and Buddhists of India and Tibet are allowed to enter the historic temple. As one enters the Mahaboudh or Swayambhu, first he will have to pay his homage to Ganesh, the elephant-headed god and Saraswati, the goddess of learning. What is basic to the culture-history of Nepal is a creative synthesis of the Hindu and Buddhist religions, art-forms, attitudes and cosmologies.

The argument that only communal harmony can prevail is a secular state sounds hollow and puerile. In this Himalayan kingdom, the reigning harmony is mainly due to the Hindu concept of government. In it there are no minorities and political scape-goats but serving citizens. It would be pertinent to point out that the word Hindu is imported and alien. It was a smear-word used by the Persians who invaded the Bharat. In the Persian dictionary the word Hindu connotes a thief, a gangster, a low-bred minion and an idolater. The children of Bharat Varsha are Aryans. Arya means: *Pragati Sheelaha Aryaha Iti*; those who look forward are Aryans. In other words, persons who accept a philosophy of change are Aryans. The Aryans have an open mind, accept the primacy of

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morals over politics, cherish kingship as the most valid political institution, believe in force as a cohesive principle in society, build up strong national ramparts, subordinate national ego to world-view and creatively participate in a comity or family of nations. We should like to etch here the classical profile of the Aryan king as it is relevant to a fundamental grasp of the Aryan polity and wisdom. Instead of theorising we wish to pointedly refer to three episodes which have illumined the vast tracts of our history.

The ally of prince Rama was the giant vulture, Jatayu. When its wings were smothered off by the enemy and it gasped its end, the prince of Kosala sighted Jatayu which was a mound of broken feathers. With a heavy tear in his eye, Rama cremated it. This episode mirrors reverence for all manifestations of life which is typical of the Aryan outlook. Compassion not only for men but mammals also is a sovereign trait. The Aryan king did not walk on the skulls of his supporters to power. He cherished their names in the inner vaults of his heart.

As the epic years were drawing to a close, the great Pandava heroes renounced power and trekked on the snowfields of Mt. Himalay. Frost-bitten, one by one, they perished in the snows. The only survivor was Yudhishtira, truth-incarnate. As he entered the golden threshold of the realm of light, Lord Indra gave a cheery welcome and asked him to enter his realm. Surprisingly enough, a dog was following Yudhishtira on his lonely and blistering trek. He entreated Indra: "First let the dog enter the heaven and then I follow". In the epic of man there is no more sublime moral event than this. The lesson is that only the Aryan king can personify truth-force. For, the dog was the god of truth in disguise.

In the epic period, dacoits carried away the cows of a poor brahmin. He raised a fierce lament at the portals of prince Arjuna's palace. The ancient political texts have given the injunction that a prince can neither sleep nor eat until he avenges a great moral wrong. Rightly then, Arjuna picked up his historic bow whose twangs struck terror into the hearts of the dacoits. His barbed arrows sliced up the retreating horde. He rescued the cows and presented them back to the brahmin. The Hindu king never tolerated the abridgement of human personality and the greed and fury of free-booters.

In the aeons of history, the Aryan kingdom rested on the

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secure pillars of ordered liberty, functional harmony and self-perfecting individuals. Political ethics, social code, moral frame-works and patterned behaviour of individuals and the community were the sign-posts of progress. Even today its ancient and eroded pillars support the kingdom of Nepal.

We re-state the proposition that the concept Aryan is now vulgarised into the smear-word Hindu. Of course, the Persian label stinks, and not the Hindu. The Hindu is the heir to the greatest heritage of intuitive wisdom, shared insights and tested frameworks.

Earlier we have maintained that the historical Hindu society was not a cloistered shell but an open society. It was grounded on the concept Varna and Ashrama dharma. Varna is derived from the root Vri, which means the principle of selection. The word Ashrama connotes the well-defined phases of life and their related functions. Our thesis is that the Hindu social order was functional in character and distributive in technique, reconciling unity in plurality. The growth of the community was cyclical. The difference between individuals belonging to different functional sectors were *Vyavaharika Dvaita*, worldly dualism. The unity of vision and spiritual quest was *Paramarthika Advaita*, non-dualism. There was oneness in manyness. In a work-a-day world we will have to accept differences in natural endowment and capacities. But the social order guaranteed equality of condition and effort. For a rich flowering of the human essence, each individual was tied to a function and through excellence in work he attained the peak of selfhood. In the ancient epochs society was open, mobile, synthesised individual attitudes with community purpose and permitted, to a certain degree, inter-penetration of functions. Later, in the historical times, the functional order crystallised itself into castes. It lost the living sap and power of renewal.

There are many instances in the Hindu lore of a Sudra, Vysya and Kshatriya conditioning himself into a Brahmana in one life cycle itself. Sage Kanva was the great Hindu migrant. It is on record that he visited Egypt and converted ten thousand Egyptians into brahmins and several thousands more into other castes. Sage Parasurama, with one tantra, *Yeka Tantrena*, converted the boatmen of the west coast into the present blue-nosed Chitpavan brahmins. Again, Ramanuja converted a sector of people at the base of our social pyramid into the modern elite-group, the Hebbars.

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True to the teaching of tradition and history, King Mahendra, is recent years, reformed the code of Manu which governs the social life in the Himalayan kingdom. The Mulki Ayan or reformed code, has now enabled a Shudra, Vysya or Kshatriya to marry a brahmin girl. Earlier, only the brahmin could marry a girl of the lower social order. By one stroke, King Mahendra has broken the slavery of caste and brought about the social integration of the Hindu community.

Even in the English society when a duchess marries a hairdresser or stable keeper there is big social landslide. On the other hand, when a duke grabs a pretty artist nude, he is hailed as a social revolutionary. Society is more critical about the life-mate of a woman than man.

In this social context we should now bring new precisions and judgements on the concept of Hindu culture. For, culture is basically a historical and environmental product. In the epoch-making message of King Mahendra, published in the opening pages of this volume, His Majesty has graciously observed that in the Hindu polity there is no basic conflict between tradition and experiment, science and culture, nationalism and world-view.

In our own day there is a galore of cultural pageants, festivals, seminars and delegations. No intellectual debate is possible without definitional analysis. The concept culture is badly mutilated and vulgarised by the connoisseurs who have launched this fragile paper boat on a choppy sea. None of them can define with clarity and emphasis its meaning or layer of meanings. Once, a young American lady, who had a compelling intellectual pose, told the author that culture was "A woman's capacity to use consumer goods". She identified culture with a big chain-store. In the cultural elites of India and Nepal there is a sophistication and swagger which mock at the discipline of thought.

The most acceptable definition of culture is proffered by King Mahendra: *Parampara Gata Shobhaman Kritihi Samskritihi.* A scale of values handed down from one generation to another, issuing out as a pattern of action, is culture. It is an essence continuous with history. There is also a scale of situational values which does not emit a moral aroma. Then it fosters not culture but anti-culture: *Parampara Gata Ashobhamana Kukritihi Asamskritihi.* Thus the king has given thought as well as counter-thought.

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In Sanskrit the three words used for culture are: Samskara, Samskaranam and Samskriti. They, in turn, represent masculine, feminine and neuter genders. What is common to all the three words is the syllable 'Sam' which signifies: *Samyak Prakarena Karoti Iti.* It means to achieve a certain measure of excellence in action. Needless to affirm, culture is a value in action. It is not a dead logical crystal.

King Mahendra has mastered the Hindu lore and his thought-model has a lucidity and meaning. He can speak with easy grace in Sanskrit. A traditional scholar is always equipped with the tools of logic. Rightly then, the king draws the demarcating lines and not the cold-war lines, between culture and civilisation. In Sanskrit, the word for culture is Samskriti and the one used for civilisation is Nagarikata. Nagarikata may be defined as: *Nagare Vasati Iti Nagarikata. Tat Sambhandat Nagarikata.* Civilisation is the refinements and capacities for social participation of the town-dweller. It is the lessening of the struggle for existence by using developed tools. The more complex the tool the more intricate the pattern of civilisation. Man attacks nature with tools, snatches power and harnesses it to the ends of life. It is the process of civilisation.

Historians of stature, like Dr. Arnold Toynbee, have developed the thesis that civilisation is the story of challenge and response. All the twenty-six civilisations in recorded history were governed by this principle. Those civilisations which failed to creatively respond to a given stimulus sank into the limbo. The second conclusion of Dr. Toynbee is that all historical change and fulfilment is due to the principle of withdrawal-and-return. Fulfillers in history were motivated by this axiom. King Mahendra argues that the flash-points in history are the work of the creative act. Men of the highest intuition, backed by a minority with the will-to-act, have altered the course of history. The principle of withdrawal-and-return will certainly give the ethical temper. For, the creative intuition is born on the tranquil horizon of the mind. Only when all our faculties are in a perfect balance, there is the felt thought or a heightened awareness of reality. The Vedas are called Apourusheya, untouched by human hand or whim. All works of man have a certain lapse or deficiency. But the Vedas are absolutely flawless in mood and metre, flanking ranges of thought and depth of insight, speculative heights and empirical truths. It is called Iswara Prakash, lit by the purest flashes of intuition.

As regards the theory of challenge-and-response, there is a

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close affinity of thought between the Himalayan king and the eminent British historian. The king has been a consistent advocate of moral toughness. When the spiritual fibre is weak then man invites a new slavery. Slavery need not be a mere political bondage. There are so many types of lures which lurk in a corner to enslave and brutalize man. The king is fascinated by the thought of Nicolas Badyaev, who has in tart phrase, asserted the primacy of man over the dehumanised environment. He is in perfect accord with Badyaev that the lures of materialism, externalisation, bureaucracy, saintliness and leadership are potent forms of slavery. Any trend or creed which blunts the power of reason and acts as an opiate on spontaniety is an enslaving force. On the contrary, an ideal or movement which encourages discrimination and choice and brings the solace of truth and love to life, is a liberating influence.

KING MAHENDRA has envisioned the cavalcade of Hindu culture as a cyclical growth. It is the history of sovereign concepts or absolute values, glowing the tracts of history. In his historical thinking the emphasis is on total frameworks and the fortunes of concepts. In the development of Hindu thought he sees five key concepts which have influenced the growth process of man and society. The first is, world-view, *Tat Tvam Asi*, thou art that. It knocks down the wooden facade between the individual and the creator. What clouds the vision of man from realising his absolute oneness with the creator is the screen of Avidya or ignorance. All philosophical quest and discipline are meant to make man clear-sighted and receive this higher intimation or truth. The first cycle of Vedic culture is glowed by the sovereign concept world-view. Once there is the dawning awareness of absolute oneness, the human heart turns into a vast amphitheatre of spirit. Spirit is a system of autonomous experiences.

At the political level only world-view can be the edifice on which we can rear a supra-national government. The king rightly points out that the trend of history is a movement from small pockets to large state structures, from tribes to mass society. The utopia of supra-national government will become a will-o'-the-wisp until man is ready to accept a supra-national ethic. That can only be Tat Tvam Asi, a concept of absolute oneness which was nourished by the hot veins of the Vedic sages.

In this ascending spiral the second pattern is Upanishadic. Upa + Ni + Shad: *Nischayena Sat Svarupama Prapnothi Ityarthaha*:

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to know with sureness the nature of absolute reality is Upanishads. In the one hundred and eighteen Upanishads the basic quest is to know the primal cause. The conclusion of the thinkers of the Upanishads is that the creator is conscious, pervading energy, Adi Shakti.

King Mahendra is particularly struck by this affirmation in the Upanishads. It is in harmony with the teaching of nuclear physics. In the nineteenth century physics the three governing laws were: the principle of conservation of matter, conservation of mass and conservation of energy. The new physics declares that there is nothing like matter. Matter is bottled up radiations, while energy unbottled radiations. We live in a universe of radiations or waves. When radiation travels with the speed of light in a straight-line, it is energy. On the other hand, when it travels at a lesser speed in circles, it is matter. At the superficial level, a universe of radiations is real, but, at the deeper level it is unreal. This heartening conclusion of new physics is in perfect harmony with the teaching of the Vedas and the Upanishads that the creator is conscious pervading energy. It is Adi Shakti, the primal energy, without beginning or end.

In the Upanishads the creator is visualised as pure light; *Parama Teja Swarupaha*, pure awareness; *Parama Chetana Swarupaha* or pure joy; *Parama Ananda Swarupaha*. These are yet other names for that pulsating cosmic energy. The epoch of the Upanishads was grounded on the concept of creative synthesis of God and man and man and the cosmos. It was cosmic vitalism.

The epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, heralded the third culture pattern. In the Ramayana there is a silent unfolding of absolute moral values. Staya Vak or truth-force becomes the axis of moral history. Lord Rama was the express image of the virile essences of the Aryan culture. The glorious name Rama and his peerless consort, Sita, sum up the saga of our culture. A symbol or force which delights the mind of sages is Rama. Only a value in action can enchant the sages. This means through the eyes of Rama the Aryan heritage looked at us. Sita symbolises Sattva Guna, the purest light or quality. An intense moral commitment and deathless heroism in its fulfilment is the kernel of the culture of Ramayana.

The Mahabharata period was a rich and intense expression of life-force. A positive accent of the Aryan culture comes to the surface. There is the desperate throw of the gambler, drum beat,

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neigh of war horses, twang of the bow, fierce encounters and the mud and carnage of history. When the earth-shaking epic battle comes to a close, only seven warriors were left—the five Pandava heroes, Lord Krishna and the charioteer Satyaki. The epic story ended in leaping flames. The proud and inconsolable queens lit pyres and reduced their charming contours into an ash-heap. Only Uttara, the wife of the greatest epic hero, Abhimanyu, who was expecting a baby, was the sole surviving princess. In the Mahabharata epoch there was life-affirmation and martyrdom of man.

The fourth phase of the Aryan culture was the age of Jainism and Buddhism. Gautama the Buddha heralded a new epoch in world history by giving the grandest ethical concept—Ahimsa. Reverence for life was the sovereign life-view. Earlier, Mahavira gave a life-view, universal, ethical, but pessimistic. Reverence for all manifestations of life was his legacy to mankind. In both Buddhism and Jainism there is life-negation. Nevertheless, the image of the Buddha is carried in the hearts of billions of people. The spell of his personality and message will last till the shadow of man moves on this planet.

The fifth culture cycle is dominated by the greatest thinker in world history, Shankara. His concept of Adwaita or absolute oneness has the energy and freshness of a mountain torrent. The only philosophical movement which can stand the rigid scrutiny of new physics is Adwaita. All life has come out of the primal energy only to go back to it. When once man becomes conscious of the imperishable universal element present in him, he will have a knowledge of the ultimate reality. Shankara declared that only the primal energy was real and the systems of universes were its reflected shadows. This conclusion is today reinforced by the nuclear physicist. The thought of Shankara is the deathless glory of the human race.

After Shankara the barbaric hordes descend on the plains of the Bharat Varsha. There is barbarization of limb and flesh. Mass conversions, rule by naked sword, destruction of cultural monuments and hiss of hate create one long Arctic night of the soul. After the twelfth century the Aryan cultural currents withdraw themselves into narrow moulds. They crystallise into civilisation. In other words, civilisation is an arrested form of culture growth. This view is held by the great German culture historian, Oswald Spengler.

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King Mahendra debunks the view of cultural synthesis between opposed categories. There can only be creative synthesis between two types of culture patterns which accept common set of values. There cannot be a synthesis between naked sword on one hand and intuitions of man on the other. The theory trotted off by the vote-catching politicians that there is no pure Hindu culture now and what we see on the stage of history is a synthesis of Hindu and Islamic cultures, is pure bunk. We might concede the point that during the reign of Akbar, for a few decades, there was an attempt at synthesis but it was just a match spurt in history.

When the Moghul barbaric hordes razed to the ground the great intellectual capital of the Orient, Nalanda, it was the saddest day in the history of ideas. Three hundred mounted sawars mopped up over ten thousand Buddhist monks who were shouting in reverberent tones "*Buddham Sarnam Gacchami*". They burnt the palm-leaf manuscripts for over six months to boil gram for the horses. The scholars who survived the mass butchery escaped either to Kathmandu or Kashmir with the salvaged palm-leaf manuscripts. Hindu artisans also migrated with their chisel or paint brush to Kathmandu. The treasures of Hindu sculpture and painting as well as palm-leaf masterpieces on social sciences were preserved in Nepal. In the famous Bir library there are over 6,500 palm-leaf manuscripts and they are now micro-filmed by the UNESCO unit. The Hindu culture which crystallised in India found a new extension and expression in Nepal. The classic fulness and purity of the Hindu essences and art-forms were preserved intact in this Himalayan kingdom.

The glorious and independent kingdom of Nepal was once taken unawares in the wake of the thirteenth century by Nawab Shamsuddin of Bengal, who invaded the Kathmandu valley, burnt the wooden shrines and converted many Nepalese into Islam. The whole capital of wooden structures turned into a huge bonfire. Soon after this unprecedented arson and barbarity, King Jayasthiti Malla sent for pandits from Banaras and Kanauj and reconverted all the Muslims into Hinduism. Time healed the wounds inflicted by the neo-barbarians but the scar remains. Today there are over two lakhs Muslims in Nepal, mostly migrants from the Uttar Pradesh, India. One of the Atlantic Cousins has secretly spent crores over their settlement. Slowly they are bolstering the myth of a minority. The sister of the guilty prime minister now lodged in Sunderijal married a Muslim and it gave an impetus to conversions.

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The great Malla and Shaha kings were distinguished by wise statesmanship, deep spiritual insight and capacity for nation-building. The names of Kings Jayasthiti Malla, Siddha Narsingh Malla, Prithvi Narrain Shaha, Ram Shaha and Tribhuvana Bir Bikram Shaha, echo and re-echo in the corridors of history. They have left the imprint of their names on the sands of time and their ideals have not ceased to glow.

In the Mahendra Era Hindu culture has entered on its international phase. In the mass age the validity of a culture pattern depends on its ability to absorb the new technological forces. King Mahendra's firm belief is that there is no basic conflict between culture and technology. He is aware of the Mahavakyas, profound and guiding statements in the Upanishads: *Pragyanam Brahma*, God is awareness; *Vigyanam Brahma*, science is God. It follows, science and spiritual culture, are expanding circles of meaning round the integral man. King Mahendra is the heir to the glowing spiritual inheritance of Raja Janak, who was the first to present the concept of integral man; one who has resolved all tensions within him and in the outside environment. King Mahendra has restored this spiritual balance by achieving a blend at the deepest level between science and culture.

THE heritage of Hindu thought and its symbolism is uniquely mirrored in the presiding deity of Nepal, Bhagwan Pashupatinath. Pashupatinath is yet another name for Shankar and his five faces symbolise the basic quest and ultimate mystery of the creative process. The concept Pashupati has a layer of meanings. *Pashureva pati*. It means the individual can lean into the creator when he sunders the veil of ignorance. It also suggests the eternal triangle—Pashu, Pasha and Pati. The individual is fettered by maya or illusion. By awareness or penance, when he transcends it, he can have a rich glimpse of God. At that dynamic moment, in the form of an astral voice or light, the creator initiates him into a knowledge of the higher essences. This spiritual process is called Shakti Pata Diksha. It is an illumined moment of grace which lifts man from a world of anguish and deficiencies to the realm of light. It is a crude interpretation to say that Pashupatinath means the lord of beasts. The significant meaning of the word Pashu is knowledge. It follows Bhagwan Shankar is the lord of knowledge.

It might intrigue the unwary to see the five faces. The only answer to this symbolism should be sought in the Vedic view of God

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as conscious, pervading energy. The scientist admits that energy is of two types; kinetic and potential. When these two strands of energy are just born, it represents the profile of Pashupatinath, Sadyojata, which means just born. When the kinetic and potential energies are side by side, it is the second profile, Vamadeva. The beautiful fusion of the two energies is, Tatpurusha. When they are juxtaposed they constitute Aghora. The fifth face of Pashupatinath points skyward and it is called Ishana. On it is written in musk everyday the Shri Yantra and then the holy ablution given.

Shri Yantra or Bala Tripura Sundari is a geometrical representation of the creator. Shri is compounded of the syllables Shiva+Devi+Ra. It means that it is a blend of Shiva and Devi, that is, kinetic and potential energy. Yantra signifies *Yapayati Trayate Iti Yantraha.* The primal energy which sustains and takes forward all created life is Shri Yantra. It is the cosmic pervading energy which protects the systems of universes and man as well.

Earlier, we have pointed out that Shri Yantra and Bala Tripura Sundari are the same. Bala means virgin. Electricity is pure, virginal and uncontaminated by other elements. Tripura connotes the three cycles of time; past, present and future as well as the three states of mind; dream, awareness and slumber. The energy that pervades these three webs of time and consciousness is Tripura. A force that enchants is Sundari. Stated summarily, Bala Tripura Sundari is the purest blend of kinetic and potential energies, pervading the web of created life and enchanting all. We may point out here that the worship of Shri Yantra is common to both the Hindu and Buddhist tantric traditions. One should not be scared away by the word Tantra. It has two meanings: *Tanunam Trayate Iti Tantraha.* What protects the body against germs and evil influences is Tantra. Then again, *Upanishadam Artham Vistharayati Iti Tantraha*, that which expands the meaning of the Upanishads is Tantra. The worship of Bala Tripura Sundari brings not only spiritual resonance to the body but enlarges the mind as well.

The culture pattern of Nepal of the Mahendra Era is traditional, positive, ethical and cosmic. The great Hindu kingdom of Nepal is ruled by King Mahendra in the name of Bhagwan Pashupatinath. In words of charged humility, the illustrious Malla and Shaha kings made the self-portrayal: *Pashupati Bhattaraka Pada Dhooli Sevakaha*; who serves the dust of the feet of the supreme protector, Lord Pashupatinath.

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Nepal is protected by an invisible spiritual cordon, the boundless compassion and grade of Adi Shakti. A kingdom dedicated to the very source of might can never be weak or defenceless. The heart of every Nepali is an arsenal. When one has shed fear and is suffused by a spiritual glow, he conditions himself into the moral super-man. In a world crouched on the Hydrogen bomb and convulsed by threats of violence and barbarity, the Nepal of King Mahendra shines as a beacon of pearly light.

Throughout the historical times, the individual has survived in a social process. There was always choice and commitment. The social process enabled him to achieve his personal identity. To survive he had to conform and the conformity stemmed out of a moral frame of reference.

The human identity and the vital scale of values have come from the sages who lived in the Himalayan woods. In the aeons of proto-history Nepal was the romantic playground of Shankar and Parvati. It was in the Himalayan snowfields the epic hero, Arjuna, received the nuclear weapon—Pasupatastra, from Bhagwan Shankar. He was tempered in archery in the famous school of Kirats. The hermitages of a host of sages like Kaushika, Yagnavalkya, Bhrigu, Vatsyayana and Manu were dotted on the banks of the Bhagmati, Gandaki and Kosi. It is in Nepal that Valmiki, the great epic poet, poured out his golden melodies, the Ramayana. It was in this Holy Land that one of the greatest kings for all times, Raja Janak, loomed over epochs. The intellectual debates he held in its historic capital, drew like a magnet scholars from all over Asia. The most adorable Sita, the very picture of feminine perfection, virtue and loveliness, was the daughter of Nepal. It was on the Himalayan ramparts Gautama the Buddha lit a new candle. That light of peace and reverence for life is one of the justifications for man to still call himself human. Nepal, from whose snowy wilderness towers aloft the greatest peak on earth, Gauri Shankar (dubiously called Mt. Everest), is the pride of the human race.

Near the lake Manas rises the historic peak, Kailas Koot. Its vision-inducing shape has inspired the Hindu art-forms, the five-peaked crown, military decorations, shape of utensils and myriad other aspects of social life. It has set the ground-tone of the Hindu culture.

The Chinese want to shut something inside the Nepali mind with a bang. They contend that ethnically the Nepalese are

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Mongoloid and have the closest links with the Chinese. We wish to point out that ethnic facts are different from malevolent scowls. The Nepalese have a life, an identity and a pure racial stock. From the anthropological standpoint, the Nepalese have a sharp, well-modelled nose, bright lustrous eyes and an angular chin, which are typical Aryan features. On the contrary, the Chinese have a caved-in chest, low, slanting shoulders, high cheek-bones and slit eyes which unmistakably stamp them as Mongoloid. It is only a learned ape who would brand Gautama the Buddha as Mongoloid. When a Tibetan, Chinese, Burmese, Thai, Ceylonese or Japanese artist paints this most handsome and angelic redeemer with sharp contours, he gives him a national look, mould and costume. It is a pardonable sophistication. The magnificent Buddha frescoes at Ajanta show unsurpassed beauty and a masculine perfection of limb and grace. With a magic brush the artists have tried to capture the dream-like beauty of the Aryan prince. Therefore the argument that the Chinese paintings depict him with a flat nose and baggy eyes, and therefore, he is Mongoloid, pays scant courtesy to the teaching of reason.

A fresh gust of propaganda blows. It is an attempt to detach the Nepali from his self. The Chinese propagandists say with archvivacity that the culture of Nepal came from the north. It is the pastime of the Chinese to pursue phantoms. It was the great cultural missionaries of Nepal, Deepankar and Atisa, who communicated the Buddha's tenets and made them active in the life of the Tibetans and the Chinese. China owes the creative side of her culture to Nepali savants and spiritual guides. Tantra yoga was a legacy of Nepal to Tibet and from there it travelled to China. The Pagoda style of architecture was the bold idiom of Arnico, a supreme sculptor of Nepal. It became the sculptural rage of South-east Asia. Therefore, it is sugary humbug to say that Nepal is the cultural copy-cat of China. We throw a challenge to culture historians to produce a scrap of evidence to disprove our contention that the Nepali culture is Vedic, Aryan and a pure Himalayan distillation. No propaganda can leave the mask on the Hindu culture of Nepal. Culturally China is indebted to Nepal. The trouble is she does not know how to say it. She simply flips her fingers.

Even in the daily conversational tags of a Nepali we can pick up at random over three hundred Vedic words. The most colourful festivals of Nepal, like worship of Indra Dhwaja, salutation to the flag of Lord Indra, is a Vedic festival. There are over hundred Jwalas or water flames named after the elemental yogis of the Nath

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Panth. Even now fairs are held in their name in every nook and cranny of Nepal.

When a Nepali goes to Tibet or China, on his return he observes a ceremonial purificatory rite, Prayaschit. As a refreshing contrast, when he goes on a pilgrimage to Banares it is his blissful moments. Over ninety per cent of the religious endowments in Banares are made by Nepalese. Most of the Kirats, with light shining in their eyes, say that they have stemmed out of the Kashyap Gotra or Kashi Gotra. In the light of this shattering evidence it is perverse to contend that the Nepalese are Mongoloid.

In the cultural pageant of Nepal, the historic temple of Pashupatinath is an eye-catcher. It was over thousand years ago, the celebrated sage, Padmapada, visited Kathmandu. Legend says that when this elemental yogi walked on water he left behind the lotus foot-prints. Hence the endearing title, Padmapada. It is his moral sublimity and vision that prescribed the style of worship in the Pashupatinath. There is a palm-leaf Instrument of Instructions setting out the details of the rituals and mode of selection of priests. The priests are chosen from the Pancha Dravida Desha, the five regions of southern India. Scholars who have mastered the Agama rules and memorised one of the Vedas and of blameless character are chosen as priests. It is not hereditary but based on merit. In spite of the mutations of time, this traditional prescription in strictly followed.

This cultural exchange was not a one-way traffic. In India also the king of Nepal enjoys a spiritual prerogative which is denied even to the most exalted Hindu of the land. At Puri Jagannath, the priest apart, none can mount on the pearly throne and worship the Lord. The single exception made in recorded history is the king of Nepal. When he visits the heavenly shrine, it is cleared of the pilgrims and the king can mount the Ratna Sinhasan and worship in his traditional ritualistic style. This privilege was accorded to one of King Mahendra's ancestors who presented three Saligrams symbolising Tri-Shakti. Even now they are encased in the heart of Lord Jagannath. The unique spiritual vibrations and aroma of the deity radiate from the kingly spiritual gift.

Lord Krishna is a symbol which enchants everyone. In him there is a beautiful fusion of Sandhini Shakti, Radhini Shakti and Samvit Shakti. It is the interfused triple-energy which creates,

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sustains and destroys the universe. The Tri-Shakti Saligrams are symbolic of these stupendous powers.

At Rameswaram there is a Parthiv Ling made of sand. It was installed by Lord Rama. The only Kshtriya king who can enter the inner shrine and worship the historic image is the monarch of Nepal. These privileges under-pin the truth that the king of Nepal is the integrating spiritual symbol of the entire Hindu realm. He has equal sway over the minds of the Buddhists also. For, Gautama the Buddha sprang from the Sakhya clan which ruled over a region of Nepal.

The most sublime form of worship on the Vedic pattern is witnessed at Pashupatinath. Nowhere in the Bharat Versha there is such a unique blend of the entrancing ritual and moral quiver. In recent weeks, His Majesty was discussing with the chief priest of Pashupatinath, Raval Padmanabha Sastri, who is a marvel of Vedic lore and evocative chant, the role of religion in a changing society. The king observed that there might be radical changes in the social patterns, but there should be no departure in the traditional forms of worship. One might offer contemporary religious experiences to interpret. Consequently, there would be different levels of individual reactions. By retaining the traditional role the priest can enable the religious consciousness to develop with varying degrees of emphasis. He also pointed out how Lord Pashupatinath has been a decisive force in the moral integration of the Nepali life. The king's words have sunk into the Raval's mind as absolutes.

Now we again re-gather the broken threads of our speculation. At the end of the thirteenth century there was nausea and a gathering sense of doom. A rigid gulf was fixed between the political elite group and the dominant social groups of the land. A very narrow clique imposed its blind fanaticism and avenging fury on a war-damaged nation. It is our unshakable conviction that in periods of gang-rule there is cultural anonymity. It might be argued how about the emergence of an inspired band of mystic poets, historical characters, moral path-finders and clear-sighted reformers? Our emphatic reply is that they create only sub-cultures. The main stream of values has already run into sands. The critic might screw up his brows and ask, was there no cultural renewal during the stable epochs of British rule? During the hegemony of the British, the country developed the external symbols of

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civilisation like English education, railways, posts and telegraphs, cantonments and the new technological forces. But, culture is an inwardly wrought value. A weakening of belief in the fundamental values of life continues. Culture is to perceive, organise and interpret the subtle cadences or values in individual and community life. It is the expansion of the personal ethic into the community ethic. In other words, it is the moralization of the community life grounded on an absolute scale of values. Culture is also defined as the heightening of the power and creative reach of the soul: *Atmanaha Alankaranam Samskriti Iti.* The question naturally arises: what is soul? That which exists, ever on the move and pervades everywhere is the soul. This leads to the further query, how to limit and heighten the value of an essence which is all-pervading? The answer lies in the rider—*Mahakash Ghatakashvat.* The blue expanse stretches to infinity but one can limit it to the dimensions of a pot. Similarly, at a given moment in the human or historical calendar there can be inner illumination of the soul. As the physical environment impinges on the individual behaviour pattern, the political process determines the efflorescence of the cultural ethos. Measured by this yardstick, during the medieval epochs and the British period there was a total black-out of the mind. The higher intuitions of man vaporised.

On this vast political Sahara, Nepal has been a spot of life-giving waters and its potent magic. Ultimately culture is a principle of balance between polarised dogmas, life-philosophies, structured attitudes to God, and the emergent beat of history. When we look back over recent centuries we find that the Hindu culture has survived by withstanding the pressures of the given moment and re-structuring its attitudes.

Today Nepal is facing an inner crisis. It is a crisis in her inherited values and the power of response to the challenges of technology. The redeeming feature is that there is a new spurt of creative energy. The king is the source and centre of this new thinking. His constant plea is that we are living in an age of reconstruction. Only by a radical mental adjustment we can survive this new threat. The king is more a revolutionary than a rebel. While the rebel is committed to a particular cause, the revolutionary is wedded to a continuous process of change. A warm huff of feeling covers the rebel whereas the revolutionary is moved by a fundamental moral tempest. More than clearing a social or political hurdle, the revolutionary in his dream and effort would be weaving a new pattern of existence

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on the loom of history. This explains the historic role of King Mahendra.

SOME distinguished western sociologists and culture historians put a ration of questions on the Hindu culture. Prof. Ernst Benz makes the perceptive observation that the difference between oriental religions and Christianity lies in one basic factor. Christianity believes in a personalistic god whereas the Vedic religion upholds an absolute and indivisible essence as the creator: *Advitiya* and *Adwaya Bramha*. The Vedic sages have affirmed that *Para Bramha* is the pervading essence: *Brihatvat Bramha Iti*. This all-ordering universal mind is *Tri Bheda Rahita*, bereft of the three flaws or distinguishing marks: *Swajati Bhed*, *Vijati Bhed* and *Swagat Bhed*. It means the creator cannot incarnate. He has no rival. Nor has he limbs. Earlier we have shown that this conception of conscious pervading energy affirms the conclusions of new physics.

Dr. Benz sees as the supreme merit in the Hindu and Buddhist religions a training in meditation which they impart. It enables the seeker to have a clear grasp of the transcendent. The westerner's reaction to cultic aspects of Buddhism and Hinduism is of "the intellectual scared rabbit". However, Dr. Benz concedes the point that Buddhism's everlasting glory lies in the experience of divine nothingness or "un-ground". It is vital to remember that Hindu culture is religious culture and the moral dominance sets its context. Hinduism has given a rare insight into the structure of cosmos, expounded the nature of the First Cause, offered a valid technique for the inner organisation of man, expanded a personal ethic into a community ethic, reconciled science and culture and built up the integral picture of man. In the Lalita Vistara, Gautama the Buddha says that he is not preaching anything new but emphasising the four great Aryan truths: *Chatvari Arya Satyani*. The four great truths are: *Sarvam Duhkham Sarvam Kshanikam Sarvam Svalakshanam Sarvam Shoonyam*. Everything is sorrow. Everything is momentary. Everything is the flicker of quality and everything is the null. In the ancient dialectical battles the foremost Hindu philosopher, Kumarila, could give the knock-out blow, rather "An aeroplane spin" to the Buddhist thinkers. He caught between his nut-crackers the word 'Sarvam' (which means everything). It is a demonstrable fact that soul is not sorrow. It is rapture. Soul is equated with the creator. Adi Shakti is called Rasa Ghana, the fount-spray of the sentiment of joy. All created life which are its reflections embody a particle of that supreme joy. Therefore, the

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notion that everything is sorrow is a distillation of the toxic mood. The soul is free from mutations and is *Anadi* or the everlasting. The definition comes trippingly on the tongue *Sarvasmin Vyaptou Iti Atma*, that which pervades everywhere is the soul. The universal soul or God is equated with truth. Truth is defined as: *Trikala Bhadhya Satyam Iti* that which exists in the three states of mind and the three cycles of time is truth. This blasts to bits the Buddhist axioms that everything is sorrow, momentary, of fleeting quality and marches into emptiness. However, Buddhism has lit the annals of man because it has given a living ethic which points the way to self-perfecting of man and society.

What intrigues the western mind is, why the Hindu prefers one god out of the huge pantheon? In the mind of the devotee what role the other gods play? Dr. Benz has posed these tantalising questions. Our cryptic one-line answer is that the worship of a god of form ultimately leads to a god of essence. To illustrate, a devotee concentrates on Lord Rama. When he is absorbed in the divine symphonies slowly the crown and ornaments disappear, the bow and arrow-sheath fade out, the physical contours dissolve, and finally, even the redeeming hand vanishes. The entire image of Rama turns into a jet of light. At the dynamic seconds of inwardness, the seeker feels that the Parama Tattva, the divine essence has become one with his Atma Tattva, the individual ethos. It is a supreme moment of awareness which fuses together man and the creator.

A similar question was put by the eminent American philosopher, Dr. Burts, to the author. The pragmatic thinker commented: "You Hindus have a cloud in the head. You spin theories about Brahma and Jiva, the creator and the individual. Could you explain in a line the difference between the two?" The reply was: "The starting point of awareness is Jiva while the peak point of awareness is Brahma". Dr. Burts raised a cheer to the Hindu wisdom. The reply cushioned his doubts.

Dr. Benz's question about the plurality of warring Hindu gods and the baffled devotee has an undertone of cynicism. In the Upanishads there is a shattering reply: *Ekoham Bahu Shyam* I am one but they call me many. We would like to bring new precisions on this high theme in the light of the Kundalini technique. In expounding Kundalini we are guided by a precious palm-leaf manuscript hidden from the world of oriental scholarship, entitled *Bala Tripura Sundari Khand* in the *Mahakal Samhita*. This manuscript is in the possession of a foxy pundit at Kathmandu and

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we had the sole privilege of access to it. The yogic texts declare that we should confront the creator as pure light, joy or awareness on the threshold of the psyche. Both the Hindu and the Buddhist tantrics accept the tenet that only by rousing the Kundalini power in man this moment of illumination can be realised. It is commonplace in the scheme of yoga that when the Kundalini is roused it courses up the spinal cord like a silvery serpent and charges the agglomeration of cells and rests a while in the Agna Chakra or the nerve-centre above the centre of the brows. The Buddhist tantrics call it the Third Eye. Here, the Jiva or the individual soul is lodged in the form of a spot of light, Bindu. In its last lap of journey the Bindu leaps up from there and joins the Mahabindu in the Sahasrara which is in the cerebral portion. Symbolically, it is called a thousand petalled lotus. They are lobes of light. At this moment of union of Bindu with Mahabindu, the soul with the Creator, all external sensations, creeds, gods and cosmologies vanish and the mental landscape is flooded by pure awareness. It is a supreme moment of rapture. In the *Bala Tripura Sundari Khand* the *Beej Mantra*, the charged words, for rousing the Kundalini Shakti is given: Im; Kleem and Souhu. These three syllables represent in turn the three patterns of energy which create, sustain and destroy the life process. The practitioner of this technique should close his right nostril and chant inwardly this mantra twenty-six times and then close the left nostril and continue to chant sixty-four times more. When he repeatedly chants with breath-control it generates cerebral fire and the dormant Kundalini energy is roused. We will not fuddle the brains of the readers by giving a full exposition of this technique. We wish to point out that the Kundalini technique enables man to realise that god is primal energy and we are integral to it. By one stroke it annuls the notion of plurality of gods and upholds the concept of absolute oneness between the creator and all created life.

Dr. Benz poses another question which has a touch of sophistication. He argues that in Buddhism the basic difference between creation and the creator is ignored. It is a pity that even philosophers of the first magnitude in the west have failed to grasp the delicate nuances of the Hindu and Buddhist thought. With merciless logic, the greatest philosopher in world history, Shankara, has proved that there exists only one ultimate reality. It is Adi Shakti or all-pervading energy without beginning or end. The web of universes has emanated from it only to go back. It is like the spider swallowing its own web. The only existant is the primal energy and the rest are all its reflected shadows.

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The nuclear physicist tells us that the atom is three-dimensional. What binds the parts is the fourth dimensional time. Further, what regulates time is the universal mind or the Creator. He further tells us that we cannot locate an electron in space nor determine its motion. Therefore, at the superficial level, this universe of radiations is real. But, at a deeper level, the universe of waves is unreal. The Hindu philosophers as well as the nuclear physicists categorically say that only the creator or primal energy exists and the systems of universes have the reality and span of the soap bubble. This is why, Kumarila called the universe an illusory elephant, Maya Hasti.

Dr. Benz defines Buddhism as "A religion in its default of the gods". It admits the existence of sacred things, namely the four noble truths and the practice derived from them. According to the Buddhist thinkers, sacred things are superior in dignity and power to profane things. Pushing the argument further, good and bad are two opposed aspects of the same class, whereas sacred and profane are two different words with nothing in common. Both in Buddhism and Hinduism there is a plurality of cults because a religion cannot be reduced to one single cult. The word 'Sacred' is linked to the greater intensity of powers attached to it.

The sociologists have a workmanlike approach to religion and culture. They point out that one can define religion in terms of "as they are; as they were; and not as they will be". Emile Durkhiem gives the most satisfying definition: "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden beliefs and practices which unite them into one single moral community". The eleven high religions in the world are mostly governed by dogma which means to accept a thing without questioning its truth-value. We wish to remind the western sociologists that it is only the Christian Church that is built on dogma. What is basic to the speculative wisdom of the Hindus is critical doubt. There are three traditional touchstones for accepting the validity of a thing or value. It must be in harmony with the teaching of the Vedas, the prevailing social norms and the prick of conscience. Hindu culture has never dethroned reason and placed on the vacant throne a dogma. It has gone one jump ahead of reason into the realm of creative intuition. For, at the last frontier of reason, intuition is born. What glows the rubric of Hindu religion, society and culture is the creative intuition.

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THE politics of King Mahendra is a thing of power. The art-forms of his glorious era are vision-inducing. Culture in this Hindu kingdom is not art of the goldsmith or jeweller. What transports us to joy is the faces of the Nepalese which are not creased by lines of care but beam out with radiance. An awakened mind, conscious of its traditions is a self-luminous stone. The natural magic in its culture-pattern is suffused by the other-worldly treasures —the temples lit by a few tapers and decorative art revealing the art of mystery. While the temples are the doors of perception, the art clothing the outer walls is an escape from sermon to sex. Wherever the eyes rivet, the viewer catches the glint of bronze, massiveness of stone and fascination of the tapestries.

The utility and motivation of sex in temple art are a hidden mystery known only to the master-sculptors. They knew the supreme virtue of shocking the devout to an ultimate sense of reality. However, the religious art of Nepal in stone, wood, bronze or paint is the labour of giants which is marvellously evocative. The angular and spiral beauty of Nyata Pola, the glowing marvels of floral and symbolic carvings of the main archway of the Malla palace, the devotees going into trance in front of Tantra Devi, Guheswari, where every Mudra is a tantric tenet and every goat-offering a transfiguring joy; the Swayambhu, where the gilded copper turret symbolises the soul's aspiration to enter the Buddhist paradise of the null, the transparent fire and fruit of the Malla art in pot-stone, the golden roof of Pashupatinath breaking a view of green and magnificence in the Buddhist tapestries, make the Kathmandu valley a panorama of floating spirals and roofs of colour and gaiety.

Now we come to a close-up of its Bajrayan art. Seen in the tantric context, it is a struggle between Maya, symbolising the dense and sexy thoughts, and Pragna, the embodiment of transporting wisdom and rapture. The panel mirrors the ever-present fact of sex orgy and its sublimation. They are powerfully suggestive of the Blue Cinema, but on deeper analysis, point to blissful moments of inwardness. At the dynamic moment of sex spree, libido is transmuted into intellectual energy or Pratibha.

The lay explanation is that lightning is a virgin. When she sees the carved sex power and orgy she would be scared and choose some other target.

Yoga deals with the stuff of the mind. The credential to see God is the control of the changes of the mind. A wall separating

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poised and sexy lovers and God suggests that hell and heaven are in our own mind.

The friezes of lit sex were meant to stimulate population growth. In the carnage of battles the flower of the Nepali race was smothered. The Bajrayan art was an incentive to rear more babies.

The rapture of Samadhi is equated with the joy of sex spurt. The Bajrayan art gives the perception of the infinite in the encounter of finite lovers. On this psychological foundation is built the doctrine of the tranquil mind—Sthitha Pragna.

Admittedly, there are jewels of sculpture and wood carvings in the Malla palace which bring blissful visionary experience. The magnificent stone frieze of Durga Sapta Shati creates an appetite in the soul to attain selfhood.

At the contemplative level, men are frozen in austere yogic postures. On the active plane, eternity is in flowers, dance-step and the merry twinkle of the eye. The scene is familiar of the mountain belles toddling in the Himalayan sunshine with top hair-do and with a garland of passion flowers, dancing under the blue dome of heaven. There is a blend of fact and wish, heroism and holiness, sensuality and austerity, in the cultural process of Nepal. We may risk a generalisation and say that the culture of this mountain stronghold is not insular but cosmic.

In the golden epochs of king Prithvi Narain Shaha and king Rama Shaha, the culture of Nepal revealed rhythmic vitality and unexpected beauties in the spheres of music, drama and religious art.

The all-important goal set by the culture pattern is the refusal to despair. It has made Nepal a small nation but of invincible prestige.

The Hindu culture equips man to see all the time life-essences in action. At the religious base, it has an answer to the unfathomable mystery of being. At the social level, it has deepened and refined functional capacity. In the political context, it has offered an unchallenged compromise between power and its diffusion. The outcome of western political systems is the bureaucrat. The promise of the panchayat, the crown and climax of Hindu political wisdom, is a politics of citizen responsibility.

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DR. ARNOLD TOYNBEE's cherished technique is to examine historical trends "leaf by leaf and not branch by branch". It is not always a virtue to be bogged down by details and lose sight of the total frameworks of thought. We rather opt for the German sociological method of the growth of concepts and their broad frameworks. The sifting and dovetailing of historical evidence should not be reduced to intricate cloth embroidery. What gives the historical method its momentum and meaning is the synoptic view which does not isolate a trend or event and examines it at different levels.

In our own day historical thinking has been largely conditioned by the methodology of Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, Emile Durkheim, Benedetto Croce, Carl Gustav Jung and Hans Kelsen. We are also influenced by the Rikert and Windleband schools of values and their impassioned plea that philosophy should assume a new task on the social and political planes. The stale airs are swept off from the seminars and academies of Europe by this new wind of doctrine. Keeping these ends in view, we have essayed on the sociology of Hindu culture. There might be a growing suspicion in the minds of the readers whether King Mahendra, whose thought-model this volume attempts to portray, is a votary of the sociological method? We hasten to assure the eager questioner that the king has undimmed faith in the livingness and power of the sociological approach. Why should he be hostile to a science which deals with society, equipped with the tools of observation and analysis?

The sociology of Hindu culture is grounded on a scale of absolute values. Our axiology or theory of values has a close affinity with the works of unsurpassed brilliance of the German theorist, professor Nicolai Hartmann. A value is a fundamental essence. It is of two types—absolute and situational. An absolute value is autonomous, exists by itself and admits no concessions. On the contrary, a situational value is inferior and grounded on an absolute value. Our scale of cultural values consists of absolute essences: world-view, truth-force, reverence for life and integration. In successive historical epochs there was an eclipse or glow of these concepts. The cyclical growth of these fundamental essences is the entrancing story of Hindu culture.

In this conspectus we have made the bold statement that after the twelfth century the Hindu cultural currents withdrew themselves into narrow moulds in the Bharat, and there was a sunset of values. When culture went underground, the ossified essences of history lost

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their capacity for growth and change. The values blitzed in the Bharat blossomed into the cultural golden bough in Nepal. This meant King Mahendra had a historical responsibility to preserve these virile essences in a technological era. In a mass society dominated by the machine and gadgets, the rhythm of life was distorted. There was self-alienation and dread instead of the consoling power of truth.

At this stage, it would be pertinent to examine the conclusions of the famous historian of civilisation, Dr. Albert Schweitzer. In his monumental works on the Development of Indian Thought and Ethics and Civilisation, he has analysed the trends in ideal terms and indicated two definite strands in the development of the Hindu thought: life-negation and life-affirmation. In his view, the chief ingredient of Hindu wisdom lies in a mood of negation and ethical despair. It is only in some portions of the Upanishads and the Gita, and the works of Tagore and Gandhi the positive accent comes to the surface. His goal-setting is a world-view which is universal, ethical and life-affirming. It is a pity that Dr. Schweitzer developed a blind-spot-in-his-vision and could not grasp the many-splendoured beauty and strength of the Hindu culture flourishing in Nepal. The Nepali wears a smile even in the grimmest moments. For, smile is a national habit. The generalizations of Dr. Schweitzer are related to a part and not the solid whole. The common pessimistic element he ascribes to the Hindu culture is neither its character nor its pattern. Pessimism always explodes into his field of vision. He could have profitably seen in the portrait gallery the glorious Malla and Shaha queens on whose arching brows beauty sat and who kept grace by losing wrinkles. They were dedicated to the cause of beauty, song, folk-dance and drama. In Nepal Dr. Schweitzer's typology is a mixture that cannot and will not work.

It is cultural ethos that has given the Nepali a sense of martyrdom and a loyalty to life essences. Capacity for self-perfecting, faith in the unifying symbol of the throne, the magic of snows and tumbling meadows and buffalo fight during Durga Puja, have brought a sense of heightened life to him. As stated before, a votary of Bhagwan Pashupatinath is a cosmic man. In life he will always have the camp-fire spirit. Shankar is the romancing God and Parvati is the seductive wood-nymph.

In a technological society the individual will have to abridge his personality. There is a loss of private moods as the state encroaches on his life. The individual will lose his liberty in the old sense as he has to accept a new set of restraints. Moreover there are several

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types of elite groups functioning in society. These new centres of power manipulate the behaviour pattern of the individual. When the economic, political or bureaucratic elite groups prevail over cultural elite groups, it signals the decay of culture. On the other hand, when cultural elite groups dominate the stage of history, it is the efflorescence of culture.

Luckily, in the Nepal of the sixties, the monarch of the Himalayan realm, and his royal spouse, personify the power and grace of the Hindu culture pattern. The king is also a poet. But, the poet does not abridge the king. Poetry has brought a depth of vision to his politics. Politics has given a sense of social realism to his poetry. This towering intellectual has given a very individual ethical stamp to the political process. Thereby he has asserted the primacy of cultural values over the de-personalising forces.

Nevertheless, the sociologist, peering through the monocle, would tap on the back and politely remind us that there are three defects which mar the growth of the integral man. They are the defects of heredity, environment and ambition. To illustrate, a census officer walks into a house. A young lady greets him. Questioned, she gives her name as Miss Arlene Baxter. As he is filling the schedule, three unruly kids surround her. The puzzled officer asks their identity. She confesses they are her children and reels out their names as I.C., M.C., and D.C. Warming up she explains to him that the first issue was the outcome of her idle curiosity; the second, misplaced confidence; and the third, damned cunning. Here is a classic example of the defects of heredity.

Then again, a businessman advertises for a lady assistant. Out of a heap of letters, three were sorted out and called for the final interview. The boss asked them how much 12 upon 12 would be? One girl replied 196; the other 122 and the third gave the correct figure. The businessman ordered that the girl who said 196 should be the assistant in the billing department. The one who replied 122 should look after the income-tax ledgers. The last one, who gave the correct figure and had cuddlesome shapes and curves, should be the sales girl at the counter. The episode mirrors vaulting ambition.

A timid-looking youngman called on a blonde at her house. The father of the girl confronted him with the remark: "Why, yes my boy, you may have her". The young man was embarrassed and replied: "What is that? Have whom?" "My daughter, of course", replied the father. Continuing, he said: "That is what

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you mean. You want to marry my daughter, don't you?" "Why, no", said the young man, "I just wanted to know if you could lend me ten dollars". The father retorted, "Certainly not. Why, I hardly know you". This is a classic instance of the defects of environment.

Without re-structuring the attitudes of the individual, it is difficult to renew society on a new foundation. In the new cultural context, Nepal has to face the three related problems — renewal of society, creation of the new integral man and politics of diffused power.

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6

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

BY the Royal take-over, the king removed the people's frayed faith in leaders who were running the government. Thereby he has acknowledged a responsibility for the control of the political process. This means he is prepared to accept the responsibility for what the government does in his name. The king's ideology has set the emotional level of politics. His style of thought is held together by a common thread—the concept of liberty.

At a particularly difficult period in Asian history, King Mahendra has shown himself an outstanding exponent of scientific politics. He has added few more cubits to his stature by taking full responsibility for the harsh but inevitable measures like dissolving a democratically elected parliament and imprisoning the key men of the cabinet. He has been castigated by the foreign press for the high-handed and undemocratic action. The critics argue that if one cabinet was guilty and blundering, the king ought to have

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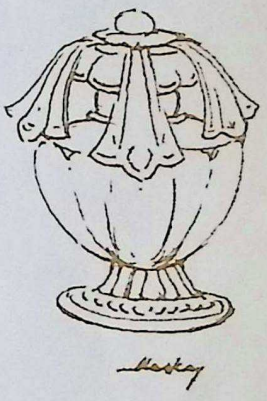
held fresh elections and given the people a chance to choose new leaders.

The charge has brutally over-simplified the grim issues involved. We might frankly say that a severe handicap cramps the politics of Nepal. The aid-givers have a strangle-hold on the now banned party bosses. The allegiance of the senior politicians to different foreign political establishments has no essential sanction of the people. When the political machinery is used by a foreign interest to frustrate the policies of the country, what should be the strategy of the king? Should he ostrich-like bury his head in the sands and allow the politicians to give the highest return for the moneys spent by outside powers?

Unquestionably and demonstrably, the king's stewardship saved Nepal from dismemberment and playing the role of a junior partner of a big power. If the king had leaders of high-calibre and high-prestige, who would not go cap-in-hand to embassies to squeeze subsidy, he would not have taken the radical step.



We are all-too-familiar with the bombast and clumsy vehemence of the voices of the international socialists and their brash overtures to the newly-liberated Afro-Asian countries. Their sympathy for the Nepali Congress is miscast. For, by now they would have extinguished every spark of creative life in the kingdom. It was, therefore, heartening to witness the king emerging out of the democratic shadows ready to engage himself in the endless battles of the individual to express himself.

In a telling line King Mahendra has summed up his new politics: "Through tradition the past keeps an eye on us". The interplay of traditional forces and the new mood sets the political idiom and the conditions of free existence. Panchayat is not the individual portrait of the king but the national face. In its groundwork there is strong emotional involvement. It was the only choice to keep the outsider wolf away from the door-step.

The statement that the strongest cards of the king are lack of prejudice, national redemption and democratic freedom is bound to give a pause. We shall presently prove that what obscures a view of reality is the ground-fog of tall myths sedulously propagated by obsessed and scheming persons.

There is ingenuity and double twist in the formulations of the

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mid-century theorists. Recently there was a screaming headline in a London daily: "Liberty, Equality and Matrimony". It illustrates how the moss-grown revolutionary political concepts jerk on to weakly satirical ends.

History pushed King Mahendra against his diffidence into a crucial role. More than anything, he loathed unshared responsibility and power. The only time he was happy was when he launched a democratic constitution based on party system. At that gay moment every flower in the Kathmandu valley pulsated with scent. When the Nepali Congress caucus betrayed the king and country, his mood became combative and vigilant. In his eyes shone vision, resolution and a strange unhappiness at the eclipse of the parliamentary system. When the people were outraged, sickened and did not know which way to look, the king stepped into the vacuum. His presence irradiated the scene and acted like a psychodellic drug on their drooping spirits. If he were less determined and more drifting, there would have been no Himalayan kingdom left.

It often puzzled him why he should throw a challenge to the understanding of the world. Nevertheless, the Coronation oath, the Sceptre of Dharma and the traditions of Nepal woke him up from the trance and dividedness. With a heavy heart he had to dissolve the parliament and send the arch-plotters into prison or on long exile.

The heart of King Mahendra's politics lies in the belief that liberty is the creation of those conditions which guarantee the happiness of the individual. He also cautions that liberty would be bowled over at a touch when people are selfish, indolent, torn by feuds and have a weak structure of consciousness. One can anticipate the charm of liberty when he has the strength to break the foreign lures. The rubric of individual happiness includes ingredients of varied flavour. While pleasure is the fulfilment of an instinct, happiness is a delicate inner balance. When fear edges in our direction, the heart should not quail. Fear might spring out of political or social environment. What weakens the fibres of freedom is fear.

Freedom of speech, unrestricted franchise, curb on strong group interests, respect for private moods, spontaneity and rapture are the strands of liberty.

As individual and group conflicts destroy social peace, the creation of a harmony of interests is basic to the libertarian principle.

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Unrestricted liberty wrecks community life. There are self-equilibrating forces in society which foster patterns of action. Restraint gilds each action pattern or community attitude. This is why, King Mahendra maintains that principles of restraint are inter-twined with the hard core of freedom. In this profound sense, every restraint is a logical crystal of the past experience of the community.

The king concludes that harsh decrees, suppressing political discussions of "any kind, anywhere and any time" would soon render the government unsupportable. Time and again, he has demonstrated that he has no blind animus against the left-wing forces or men prominent in public life. But, with equal firmness he asserts that he would not tolerate any assault on authority from any quarter.

Since the rise of the modern state, waves of advice and criticism have swept over all parts of the civilised world about maximising the individual's agreement with the law. Political theorists pointedly say that rule of law can effectively prevail only when "the substance of law is continuously woven from the fabric of a wide consent". The question naturally arises, whether the consent can be obtained or forced? The test of the character of the government lies in its ability to strike a neat balance between the complex of public opinion and liberty; consent and authority.

During the Rana interlude, the king had fought every hurdle on the way to freedom. Naturally, the ringing words of prof. Harold Laski will find an inward echo: "The freedom we want, we have to make. Every postponement we accept, every failure before which we are dumb, only consolidates the forces that are hostile to freedom". In other words, the will-to-freedom when put into long disuse, will atrophy.

In this mid-century, the environment of a smaller country is sometimes conditioned from outside by big powers. They would like to encourage a trend which favours them. But individual and community happiness depends on the upbuilding of a new order which had spontaneity and unfettered choice. Prof. Laski makes the profound comment: "Let us remember that men think differently who live differently, and, as they think so they build principles of action to remedy what, in their lives, they find bitter or unjust, to preserve what they find pleasant or right". The identity and genius of prof. Laski is above praise. The quoted lines sound like an introduction to the panchayat. The anatomy of this sparkling sentence would reveal and justify the action of the king. His

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anxiety has always been how to maintain the political traditions of the land. He has offered a new political order, pyramidical in form, distributive in technique, in which the tiered parts are struggling towards the apex.

The equalitarian principle is close to the heart of the king. To possess the substance and not the shell of liberty, the individual should have a just share in the economic operations and their fruits. The revolutionary king knows that there are fundamentals of society. Any move to alter them would meet stiff resistance. Society would fight such subversive trends with legal weapons. This is why, he is taking careful steps in the direction of a just social order. No government or group would voluntarily strip its powers. It will fight, in the last trench, in defence of property rights, monopolist possessions and group dominance.

The statesmanship of King Mahendra has peeled off authority, social and political, of its encrusted layers of privileges. In Nepal, the extreme case of monopoly in the old order was a single Rana holding over a lakh and ten thousand bighas of land. The land reform and ceiling has now limited it to fifty acres. In the Kathmandu valley, youthful intellectuals hurl at each other Red texts and counter-texts. The latest craze introduced by the Beatles has made them grow hair a little longer. An embarrassed mother, who heartily disliked the fashion, once confessed that she would be giving her son sleeping pills and cut his hair short. The lean intellectuals forget that the ethos that surrounds the politics of King Mahendra is equality of human condition and effort. There is a natural social conservatism which resists the impact of change. It is the practising politicians who are tickling the time-bomb to blast the momentum of change. For, the pith of King Mahendra's political ideology lies in an understanding of the doctrine of economic equality. Of course, the king is in a much more stronger position than any reigning monarch in introducing radical economic changes. He is traditional and the old society stands firm. He has used the great range of his powers and persuasion to relate political pattern with social reality. The signs are manifest of a political system evolving itself within the pattern of the old. In different epochs and political orders, it is kings who have shown bitter hostility to revolutionary social change. Contrarily enough, in the Himalayan kingdom, the king is the herald of a new order.

In the Mahendra Era there is a steady movement from the rutted social attitudes to new social interests and standards. In the

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heyday of Rana power the non-Rana citizen was penalised when he white-washed his house. In two decades there is a changing society marching towards radical innovations. It is a tribute to the revolutionary will of the king.

The most outstanding political fact is that there is a creative response from the masses to the king's call to walk over the chasm yawning between crystallised attitudes and the possibility of a new contemporary mould. In this essential respect, we must examine whether his standpoint is realist or idealised. In literature, the lines of cold war are sharply drawn between the domestic play which is realist and the bourgeoise which is idealised. Similarly, in politics, a realist is the trend which participates in everyday reality. In the early decades of the twentieth century, revolutionary movements made realism the pass-word of history. In ideological content and affiliations, the political thought of King Mahendra, with its radical social base, is thorough-going realism.

Prof. Harold Laski, who has the dazzle of thought and chiselled beauty of phrase, has indicated the meaningful role of the citizen in the political process: "A man's citizenship is the contribution of his instructed judgment to the public good". It is not impulsive slogan-power but the ability to weigh the pros and cons of an issue in the invisible mental balance that matters. The world of intrigues and a campaign of half-truths impinge upon the individual. If his mind is vulnerable for infection, he becomes the sport of crude urges.

The outstanding desire of King Mahendra is to bring about a mental revolution. Without a mental readjustment it is difficult to create a new climate or feeling. The basic quest of the individual should be to develop a mood of dissent, seek the unvarnished facts, and draw valid inferences from them. The observation that man is the stereotype of environment has a modicum of truth in it. For, the elite group in a mass society acts as the watch-tower of integration. Freud has recorded seven basic instincts but the eighth instinct which eluded his grasp was the instinct of imitation. The lower middle-classes, model their way of life and thought, on the superior class. Thus their conversational style, custom, food habits and political fads are set and rehearsed. The sociologists call it Sanskritisation or Brahminisation of culture. In reality, there is a dead-levelling and the proletarian mood has brought a drabness to the cultural scene.

The government also tries to condition the stereotype by giving specific directives to the channels of information like the press, radio

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and television. In a thought-conditioned society, the individual feels the loss of private moods and develops a feeling of forlornness. His happiness sprouts when there is a conformity between decisions and facts.

The king shares with Laski the necessity for liberty, with Tocquille, the revolutionary passion for equality, and with Gierke, the urgency of pluralist political arrangement. Once he rightly observed that we cannot get an idea of our social plenty and fulfilment by looking through the shop-windows in the capital but by catching a glimpse of the chronic poverty and want in the remoter villages. In his royal proclamations and speeches, the king harps on realistic community purposes. The difference between his approach and the socialist is that the king is convinced about the presence of the revolutionary elements in the existing pattern itself. Instead of a root-and-branch reconstruction, with its trails of blood-letting and uprooting, he opts for the democratic approach. According to him, the new politics is a challenge to create new meanings and substantiate by giving new institutional expressions to them.

There is no single track to revolutionary change. Man can choose either democratic persuasion or total subversion of the old order with the tools of violence. A Gurkha king is not scared by the whiff of shots, but has violence, the power and hope, the choice and sanction, of society behind it. Moreover, in our own-day revolution has lost its flavour and meaning. Instead of a quick sense of guilt, hate and violence, education for an open mind, conformity of facts to truth, equalisation of privileges and a unity of social interest, would be the essential elements of democratic growth.

Those who make incisive sneers at the new regime in Nepal as undemocratic and dictatorial should ponder over this affirmation of Laski: "The real meaning of democratic government is equal weighting of the individual claims to happiness by social institutions".

In most of the Afro-Asian countries the political horizon is swamped by a swarm of dunces and charlatans. They have no capacity or insight to rear a political edifice of the first magnitude. There is not a single lucky winner who could snatch the bun of parliamentary democracy kept on the top of a greasy pole. Mere breezy optimism in the leadership of some countries has proved of little avail. They have all ran the risk of swelling and not diminishing

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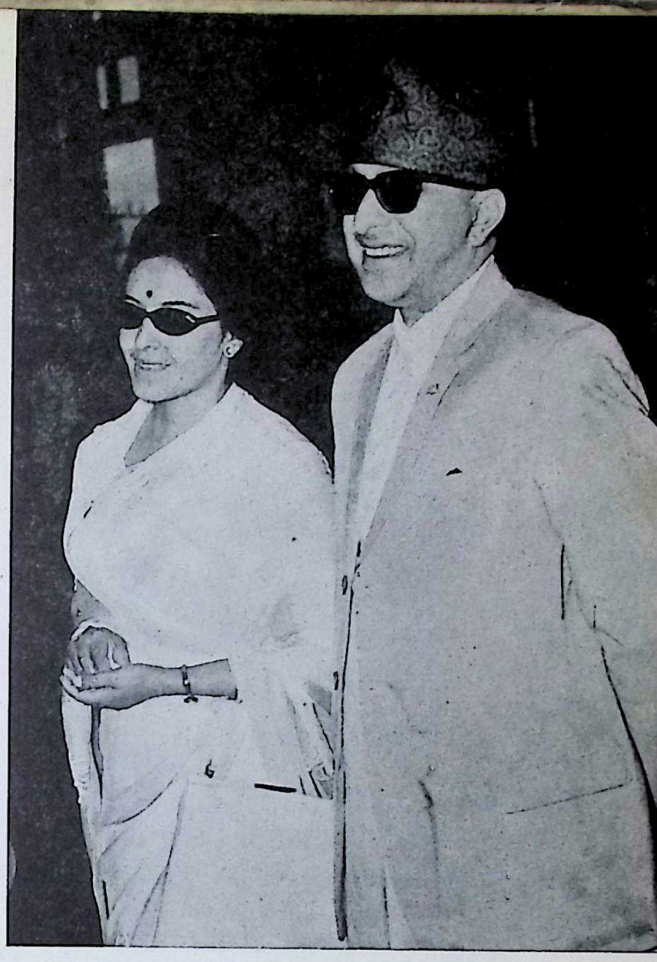

The co-stars of Ordered Liberty, Co-existence and Peace.

tensions. Their makeshift policies and criss-cross of alliances have failed to mitigate differences in social welfare. They have also failed to create a moral nexus around individuals and groups for a speedy realisation of community purpose. The lack of social conscience has outdistanced socialism or any effective type of community good.

A growing struggle on caste and regional lines, the rat-race for quick profit, a desire to bulldoze into ministerial office and a matching talent for tickling time bombs have made the democratic governments difficult to keep their heads above water.

Though some democratic governments in Asia wear the mask of socialism, yet they are in the expansion stage of capitalism. The forced wedlock between democracy and the thoroughly dislikable compound called, modified or purified socialism, has led to the inner contradictions of many modern governments. Capitalism in distress wore the guise of economic democracy. When it held a threat to the

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fundamental concept of property and profit motive, the harried capitalist forces showed a subversive frame of mind in social and political fields.

The post-war movement toward democratic socialism sees consistency in extremes. Its ideal of the welfare state could hardly tackle the issue of industry sharing the benefit of prosperity with the nation. Democracy could not stay inside the postulates of modified socialism and it resulted in a politics of thwarted hope. It was just a tactic of change and not a fundamental reconstruction of the economic foundations of democracy.

Social tensions are boiling up in the Afro-Asian countries because the proletariat is conscious of its power. In some countries there is the cynical abrogation of the democratic process. The historic antithesis anticipated by the Marxists was between the little wage-earner and the employer. The new dichotomy is between the democratic leader and the sullen masses.

The anatomy of a democrat reveals two political rediscoveries. Specially in the Afro-Asian countries parliamentary democracy is withering away at the roots and branches, and therefore, unable to bear forth blooms. Party system has turned into a manner of destroying the modern state. It could catch the new voter and not build the new man. A solution to the malaise of the Asian politics lies in the devastating flick of a panchayat-fan: "I was gurgling to remove the taste of a non-Aryan visitor".

In the newly-liberated countries in Asia the working class is not strong enough for the seizure of power. The alternative response would be to have a voice and share in diffused power. A politics of creativeness and not futility lies in the extension of the individual's choice, spontaneity and effort to a wider historical theatre. On the Asian stage democracy, by turning into an apparatus of regimentation, has destroyed the last traditional political virtue and hope.

In Nepal the contraries are present urging for acceptance as social truth and political reality. One bloc or ideological school extols communist dogma as social truth. Tension in the valley periodically arises when this group tries to escape from citizen obligations and tries to impose its dogma as a political certitude. What is fundamental to a group might be an opiate to the community. We should also sketch here movements of another trend which equate political truth and morality with the parliamentary form of govern-

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ment. On which rival assumption has the king to build? Should it be on his experience or garnered wisdom of the centuries?

King Mahendra is sound in his determination to control the political environment keeping the historical ends in view. In this process he is able to stir the imagination of the people and create profound allegiance to the panchayat ideology. Moreover, there is an irrefutable and inherent logic of religion, society and culture, which has applauded the boldness and severity of the ruler in dealing with the incursions of alien creeds. We could see the eruption of the mass mood when the Mao picture intimidated a trade fair in the capital. So an ancient thought-model, trimmed and streamlined into a modern ideology, is relentlessly marching forward. If a handful of creed men are preparing for a showdown, they should be prepared for the price of conflict. In the king's view, the highway to a new political order lies through the reconstruction of a traditional concept and strengthening the class relations within the community. In such a political ordering, neither the political authority would distort the economic forces nor the masses would like to engender a conflict of interests.

It has been argued that no other principle is more fruitful than self-determination for the political health of a resurgent nation. Furthermore, no political status other than communism can improve class relations. Both the propositions are free from ambiguity and touched by fanatic will. Nationality is a product of historical tradition and memory. Its dominant strands are race, language, religion, and a sense of common fate and history. Professor Laski has rightly pointed out that it is a psychological phenomenon rather than a juridical principle.

Continual traditional memory has nourished the monarchical order in Nepal for over two thousand and seven hundred years. The oldest historical reference is to king Yelambar (Seventh century B.C.) and we are not equipped with the tools of research to peel off the layers of proto-history. The essential prerequisite of the stable nation is already there, the monarch. The question of political self-determination arises only when there is a transition from slavery to freedom or an upheaval disrupting the existing political order. In recent decades there was a palace revolution in Nepal and the old authority of the king was restored. The Rana oligarchs, who had usurped power, were put in the shade. The king has placed the total interest of the community on the tested panchayat plane, and an effectively functioning political order does not need the technique of

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self-determination. The same technique produced a Hitler in Germany. From the juridical standpoint, no outside will or internal group, however vociferous, can bind the will of the sovereign state. It is clear that those powers which are covertly supporting the agitators are trying to expand their own sphere of influence under the cloak of ideological affinity. It is such hostile acts that have lowered the political code and created areas of friction and tinder-boxes.

We confront the second question with the answer that it was the will of the benevolent monarch that changed overnight the social class relations in Nepal. Are there greater social and economic landmarks than equalisation of privilege, land ceiling and radical change in the social code? The communist is trained to believe that a cliche can build a new order. The king asserts that the privileged classes can be modified when a psychological atmosphere for reform is created. There will be no blood-letting and emergence of the dictator, social chaos and jumping on the wheel of power, when reform is backed up by public opinion.

It is a polite fiction to think that the drive for more reform is great in a parliamentary democracy. In Britain imperialism has put the axe at the very roots of equality. Even the socialist cabinet had to accept the continuity of tradition. In foreign affairs the will of the vested interest dominated. The theory of biological superiority of the white man over the coloured was an affirmation of the pressure of the imperialist dogma. The imperialists challenged the democratic hypothesis and indulged in warmongery. Professor Laski makes the profound observation: "It is peculiarly significant that, in Great Britain, the main attack on democray especially in the economic realm, has come from men who, in the last sixty or seventy years, have been trained in the imperialist habits of thought by Indian experience. An imperialist society, being built upon the implicit claim of a superior race to govern inferior, naturally anxious that its rights are the function of its power to get its will obeyed; that is the only logic it is able to understand". He makes out the point that the British sovereignty admits the imperialist claim which is superior to the state interest.

The ideology of King Mahendra is built upon some certitudes. He is convinced that in the social complex there is an interplay of forces. There is the subordination of reason to interest. In the old-world diplomacy there was the war of states. It is now supplanted by the war of castes or classes within the community. National ethos has become a reflection of the nature of this inner conflict. So

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long as latent violence is enshrined in the viscera of society, the unity in society will be based on coercion and not consent.

According to the king, what is pivotal to the modern state is the rational pursuit of the common good. The concept of happiness is governed by property-relations. In other countries the transition from a feudal order to the modern state was precipitated by violence. In the Mahendra Era the high tide of social change has forced the surrender of privilege. Its attack on the fundamental notion of property has given a revolutionary character to his regime.

There is a union of monarchy and democracy in the sovereign national state King Mahendra's statesmanship has built up. The concepts of a heightened individual happiness and equalisation of privilege are its democratic bedrock. The fight now is about the state power. The vital fact is that in this buffer kingdom the maintenance of ordered liberty and social peace is incompatible with party government. During the brief spell of party government, the nation terribly suffered in its psychological and moral stature.

Even the British Parliament has its environmental limitations. A political theorist has pointed out that the sovereign queen in parliament could legally disfranchise the working classes in England. Practically we know that it dare not take this radical step : "Everyone in England is aware of the grim practical conditions under which parliamentary sovereignty operates". One feature of the king's foreign policy that will most appeal today is the principle of creative co-existence. What has come evermore precisely into the foreground of his politics is his revolutionary leadership of the nation. He is not only the indispensable leader, the nation has accepted him so. Those who have placed themselves on the other side of the barricade belong to the extreme wing of communism and Nepali congress. They are not Siamese twins but antipodes. They are united by a common hatred to destroy the traditional institutions of the land. However, they are unable to wean away the masses from a reliance upon the leadership of the king.

The question agitating the minds of the people of Nepal is, whether co-existence can be reconciled with bad-neighbour policy. The xenophobia of China, with its spurts of violence and wilful insult has embarrassed the co-exister. To the Peking archangels the Russians are revisionists, the Americans imperialists, the British moral leopards, the Burmese luminous insects and the Indians anti-China clowns. Now China is holding a threat to the civilised conditions

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that are essential to the freedom and dignity of national life. It has never understood the decorum and the implications of the world community. India and Nepal had both the treaty rights to guarantee the autonomy of Tibet. When India gave up her rights over Tibet believing in the Bhai-Bhai professions of China, Nepal also waved aside her paramountcy. At that moment Nepal and India believed in an enduring friendship rather than the shifting waters of the Yellow river. When a neighbour is bereft of an average volume of decency and commonsense, can co-existence be creative? Such association will partake of the ironical spirit which makes a serious difference to the conditions of peace.

The crucial interest of politics today lies on the future of co-existence. The role of this concept has become melodramatically clean-cut. After the Indo-China conflict, statesmen had a bemused indifference to Panchsheel. When the leaders of Peking and New Delhi signed it with a flourish of trumpets, it was cheered and gossiped in the chancellories of the world. The worked-up cult of violence and perfidy of China has now destroyed its faintest glimmer of promise.

Can we salvage some lesson out of this wreckage of ideal? We now need a new politics which maintains both strength and scorn: strength for the guardians of political taste and scorn for the power-addict. A touted fascination for this myth of co-existence at the expense of national honour and common decencies of life would be disastrous.

With a twinge of regret one must admit, that the neo-barbarians of Peking have trivialised the great Buddhist concept of Panchsheel which was the passion of history. Now international politics must search some new labels which can describe the amount of rational self-control a nation can exercise on itself.

The question naturally suggests itself, when an irrational junta controls and runs the political process in a neighbouring country, what should be our attitude to it? What a reward it is for the agony of brave thought of Asian statesmen! In spite of this gloom and evil-foreboding, King Mahendra has avowed the tenet that co-existence is the right pattern of supranational thought and life. He is equally convinced that human nature can be refined and political regimes mended.

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7

PANCHAYAT UNDERSTOOD

IF there is hard thinking, a concept becomes hard to understand. An airily generalised approach will undermine the theme. It is our ambition neither to make a thesis nor a slogan of it. We want to understand our political legacy.

We are aware that pointed utterances picked up and strung together from moth-eaten works of classical thinkers will not make a coherent philosophy. Nevertheless, by casting more widely the net we can catch a rich haul. The intuitions of great masters will certainly help in establishing the theoretical justification of a concept. There is no attempt, however, to twist unrelated opinions to suit a frame of reference.

The emphasis is firmly on the concepts of panchayat and democracy. Western theorists are unaware that there is no dualism between the two concepts. Their very question, 'is there democracy

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in panchayat?' betrays an invincible prejudice or ignorance. As a concept, panchayat has greater creative maturity than democracy. It includes and transcends democracy. Democracy may be the highest political virtue to the westerner. It again provokes the question, democracy of which brand and stripe? The statement of Bernard Shaw has the cold glean of steel on it: "Democracy means asking the passengers to drive the railway train. It is government by the ignorance of the majority". These acid words reveal the depth of his sneer. But, they give a special force to any critical discussion.

We are giving here a sensitive criticism of the continental theorists. It is meant to illuminate the central thought of this monograph. Why should one invoke democracy as a criterion to judge the validity of other political systems? We know only too well that through panchayat one can experience democracy. The extent to which power is diffused, democracy becomes an expanding canvas. It follows that only a good votary of the panchayat can be a good democrat.

In our treatment of the panchayat we will try to avoid the flaw of modern scholarship which concentrates more on artistic purpose than precise meanings. The words cheaply bandied about in any political discussion are 'society', 'community', and 'social relationships'. We may define society as a living blend of social relationships. Relationships become social when they have a mutual identity and recognition. Living in a social complex, where individuals develop a sense of being together, they grow into a community. In the social process both likeness and difference of individuals and their attitudes are involved. What gives society its bite is its involved relationships. In the social structure, likeness is more a dominant trait than difference. Man is dependent on society for protection, services and opportunities. Political structure has stemmed out as a response to this fundamental need of man.

Sociologists define community as an area of social living grounded on locality and sentiment. When society maintains the conditions of good and peaceful life, it is called political community. Politics and community cannot be divorced as welfare and stability come within the ambit of politics. Our basic quest is to find out how far this relation between nature and its abuse, right and interest and power and happiness, is maintained in the panchayat and democratic frameworks.

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It is our desire that the readers should meet a host of thinkers and higher critics on their own ground. In a few brisk pages we have given short commentaries of Locke, Acton, Hegel, Burke, Nietzsche, Francois Fourier, Gierke, Croce, Maritain, Laski and Herman Finer. As Prof. Laski took the socialist standpoint, to counterbalance we have brought to an intense focus the liberal thought of Herman Finer. Their thought-models are given a significant place here, as they are key thinkers in the political and intellectual ferment of the age. Our contention is that King Mahendra has covered a wide field and ploughed a deep furrow. The democratic content of his panchayat is in harmony with the formulations of these eminent theorists.

It is political commonplace that democracy is right and within its framework the majority is right. To Locke, right is the consent of free men who are capable of a majority. Rousseau ingeniously discovered that the general will is always right as it is to the public advantage. A host of political scientists hold the view that democracy means reasonable assent.

The classical thinkers have envisaged the good government as that "which involve the least coercion and feeling of coercion". Lord Acton laid down the dictum that the wish and value of the multitude is the supreme test of right. A spate of literature has grown round the question, who ought to exercise authority? In our view, it should be exercised by that person who is most unlikely to abuse it.

The problems that assail our generation also troubled the thoughts of the great ancients. They had to puzzle out an answer to the recurring issue, who should rule the rulers? Most of them opted for the reign of principle and equated it with "the voice of universal reason". Some went a step further and linked up moral rectitude with the body-politic. There was a shift of emphasis from what is broadly right to what is right of each and all.

Further growth in political thought led to a trend compact with values. Then only it could result in a minimization of tensions arising in society. The French masters gave the entrancing thought that in all social and political decisions the balance of human personality was involved. Their great contemporary spokesman, Jacques Maritain observes: "I am known to other men. They know me as an object, not as a subject. They are unaware of my subjectivity as such; unaware not merely of its inexhaustible depth

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but also of the pressure of the whole in each of its operations that existantial complexity of inner circumstances, free choice, attractions, weakness, virtues, perhaps loves and pains; that atmosphere of imminent vitality which alone lends meaning to each of my acts". In brief, what makes the act significant is the personality.

Debate next hinges on personality and assent. Should the assent be voluntary or coerced? On the answer depends the ends of politics. The verdict of history was that none could infallibly possess truth, political or social, for all time and in all situations. On reflection thinkers realised the need for an over-mastering value and its discipline. The new polity they evolved was the framework of universal freedom. Benedetto Croce wrote the stirring line that man was not free so long as the earth held an acre of slaves.

A note of dissent was struck by Nietzsche who held that history was a foundation and scaffolding for a select class of beings to elevate themselves into a higher excellence. In his scheme of thought the universal sparks could not soar. Hegel called it "the spirit which had taken this first step in history is the inmost soul of all individuals". In his view, the watch-towers of moral integration and progress were "the soul-leaders". He left initiative not to the masses but to history.

The capacity for initiative and leadership is the core of democracy. The great community the thinkers conjured up was spontaneous, but had a residue of coercion. In a sense democracy was a process of persuading others. In retrospect, we find that the claims of democratic right as the ideal best, is rejected out of hand by some theorists. Others grudgingly accept it as the second best. A few acclaim it as "civil religion". Significantly enough, there is a lot of semantic or wordy confusion about the interpretation of the concept democratic right. A survey of two thousand years history of polity shows that no two major theorists hold identical views and solid differences exist. They have made a wilderness of concepts and call it polity.

A new precision was brought on this theme by Burke. He argued that the ground-work of politics should be human nature and not human reasoning which was a part of the former. He valued the elemental passion which lay beyond the frontiers of reasoning. However, Nietzsche called human nature "a gloomy enervating melancholy".

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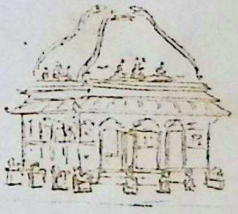
The liberal thinkers felt that self-government of man was a thorny issue. The insistence was on self-abnegation and common acceptance of values. Again they provoked a furious debate whether the democratic government was the best or the attainable best.

The unit of modern government is so vast: India 45 crores, Soviet Union 20, United States 15, Germany 7, Britain 5, France 4, and Nepal one. The vote is an "unearned bequest" to millions of millions of people. Modern government in this mass age is inter-personal and inter-groups, grounded on a political or economic premise.

One of the foremost political theorists of our time, Prof. Herman Finer, refers to the twin evils of modern government. "The first is the burden of centralisation which has a two-fold nature: it involves treatment of the needs of all its individuals and groups. The second is the limitations on the liberty of subordinate groups within the larger community, which they are prohibited from exceeding in pursuit of their ardent will and best beliefs". On scrutiny we find that in the modern governments there is no individual and group spontaneity. The ruling elites feel that their prescription is the best. Thereby, they thwart the growth of group life. The restraints they impose is the area of freedom.

In 1808 the famous French thinker, Francois Fourier, evolved a decentralised plan of administration for France. Its basic aim was to reduce the pressure of the great society on the individual. His blueprint divided France into hundreds of self-governing societies, each unit consisting of 1600 members. He called it a system of phalansteries. Its cherished ideal was a rich participation of groups in political life without the sprawling apparatus of rigid centralism.



The phalansteries has an ideological affinity with the panchayat. However, there is a weakness in its scheme of thought. It admits no heirarchy of values and functions within the power structure. For, the essence of life is heirarchy. Fourier's plan shares the anxiety with the panchayat to relieve the units from the organisational pressures of the central apparatus. It provides the education of the citizens in the higher reaches of power. The fulfilment of a social value by the unit gives it a proper share in collective action. It is the confused friends of democracy that should have misgivings about the pluralist arrangement of power.

Prof. Herman Finer makes a profound observation:

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"Democracy's keenest rival for man's devotion is economic welfare". He cautions that states should be alert to the dangers of the rivalry of the two concepts: "For it would be wrong to promise rapid, almost immediate increases of wealth in such quantity that the inventiveness, the resources, the skills of labour and management, could not possibly provide". This is the danger facing the under-developed countries in their programme for rapid industrialisation and doubling the living standards. It is the policy of King Mahendra not to whip up quick expectations unsupported by the harsh national realities. Prof. Finer sounds the tocsin of alarm that the platform politicians who falsely arouse the acquisitive instinct of the poor and less privileged are playing with the 'arson of democracy'. The incontrovertible fact is that for a healthy functioning of the democratic process a degree of economic abundance is necessary.

Prof. Finer disapproves a lopsided emphasis on building a radical economic postulate into the fuondations of democracy. In his view, democracy is an end in itself: "To say otherwise is to fall into a materialism which could lead to a government of chains, even if self-imposed chains." Any form of regimented society creates a new centre of power, the bureaucrat. A planned order is a system of conscious decisions and restraints. It creates a mechanical structure of commands and state incursions. Professor Finer aptly calls modern democracy "a wholesale arrangement." His thesis is that in the circle of freedom the state can effectively act in some segments only. It should have the prudence to leave the other segments to private effort. Where democracy cannot creatively bring happiness, it should not create unhappiness. There is no better therapy to foster group action and spontaneity than decentralised power units.

With time, sacrifice and effort, democracy can clear the hurdles, one by one. In our harassed times too little concern is shown by political scientists to a heightening of group life. Prof. Finer holds the view that political process is linked to time and group excellence is a long-term good. In a remarkable analysis of time and political process he presents its four-fold aspect; Time and Patience, Time and Knowledge, Time and Appeasement and Time and Eternity.

A quick drive for changes often results in wrong diagnosis of the political setting. The unfulfilled promise naturally feeds the irrational fires in the masses. It constitutes a danger to the social

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fabric. To put iron bands of three or five years span on fleeting time and promise a rosetinted dispensation to the hungry masses is hazardous. There is a telling Russian proverb: "The present generation is the manure of the future".

Men might carry conviction but time alone proves its validity. Bernard Shaw sardonically observes that we experience a sense of loss when we observe a new fact. Contemporary man is on the threshold of discovery. It is again time that can make the newly discovered facts the spring of social action.

In the sixties it is more fashionable to quote Sartre, Camus, Rimband or Baudalaire than Shakespeare. Nevertheless, he puts home-spun philosophy in the mouth of a character: "Time's glory is to calm the contending kings". Time alone can cool tempers, reveal new sides of a concept, iron out differences, pour golden balm on dialectical wounds and create a new political balance.

Works of pervading truth, love and grace created in time form a party of eternity. Aldous Huxley points out that only in the moral way the eternal good becomes an immediate experience. He pours scorn on the revolutionary's political dialectic or economic nostrum.

In Nepal human mind and conscience are waiting with hope and fervour for the panchayat concept to work out its fuller implications. Only the four points of time enunciated by prof. Finer can establish the validity of the political process in the stream of time. It is unthinkably absurd to say that the panchayat is not democratic. In the light of political theory we have made it crystal clear that the impulse of the panchayat is to exercise power by dispersion and persuasion. It is the medicinal principle of democracy. In its power structure the humblest citizen can climb the spiral stairs to the highest political office. The minister also is compelled to seek the suffrage of the remotest voter. It is the politics of fellowship and sensitivity, social peace and shared insights, community purpose and individual happiness.

As a ruler King Mahendra is at once the most enlightened and the most lucky. It would have been easy enough for his critics to condemn him if he were messianic in his utterances. The discussions in the throne rooms of power have planned and retained everything essential to the freedom and security of national life. The

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responsibilities of the ruler are fully felt in his measured as well as mannered proclamations and speeches. The same panchayat concept will reveal new sides and meanings to an academic professor, a platform politician and an enlightened king. To academics, it is a theoretical construct, to the politician a ladder for power, and to the king, the voice and instrument of polity. Only a king can take harsh decisions knowing fully they are harsh.

At a colourful embassy reception, at Calcutta, on the forty-ninth birthday of His Majesty King Mahendra, Lady Ranu Mukherji, a lady of social and mental graces, could not suppress her feminine curiosity. She very politely asked the author: "The king is in his late forties. It is not the age of political maturity. Who guides him in his difficult buffer strategy?" His only guide is his lucid mind. We know he listens most attentively to the interviewers. He wants his key-men in the palace to be loyal to him and not strike a false ideological pose. Even the queen is unaware of the inmost thoughts of the king.

He risked his throne in introducing panchayat only when he was convinced that a new pattern of power-structure could match a new type of political blackmail. If he were self-complacent, narrow and had any taint of ego-mania, the panchayat would have been scotched in the cradle. He says with a charming gusto that he is not a political theorist. But, his name will live in history as long as the national flag, with the sun and moon emblazoned on it, flutters over the Himalayan ramparts.

THE western political model close to the panchayat is the theory of corporations, which first came to a rich flowering in medieval Italy. It is the fundamental idea of a vanished epoch. Nevertheless, its speculative element has inspired Europe.

The Italian thinkers called the corporate bodies, Universitas. Their basic anxiety was: "As to whether, and to what extent, the corporate body is authentically identified with the sum of its members, and the whole with sum of its parts". In other words, the relation between the individual and the unit and units and the frame-group, agitated their mind.

The first stage of this theory is called the Glossator principle. However, it could not formulate a tenet that could be consciously applied to the particulars. It treated the corporate group as a legal subject. Public rights as regards property were conceded to

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the corporations. It was a social organism with its own special and indispensible sphere of communal life.

The self-evident powers of the corporation were right of assembly, admission of new members, taxation and election to the board. Otto von Gierke, a supreme political theorist, writes: "By assuming or postulating the participation of the people (volk) or its representatives, the historical corporate group as such was regarded as the proper subject of the right of territorial legislation". The broadest degree of autonomy was conceded to the corporate groups. Every communal act was an act of the corporation. However, the specific legal concepts of the corporate constitution and of corporate organs were left flexible. In the assembly of the representatives there was a representation of the totality. It was the concept of oneness in many-ness. The will of the majority prevailed. The medieval theorists felt that the assembly speaking in the name of all was a legal fiction. As time rolled on, the concept of representation struck deep roots. The universitas could act like an individual. The notion of united joint will came to the fore. The Italian thinkers put on an equal footing the principle of majority and the principle of representation. A collegium of elected representatives by its majority could make and carry out its corporate resolutions. Each universitas had a rector to direct its affairs.

Gierke, commenting on the role of the monarch in the corporate groups, remarks: "The sphere of power of the monarch was only a separate and independent place in the sphere of totality, regardless of the fact his superior and ultimately divine power was thought to be the source of his power". The corporation had two aspects, institutional board and associational body. The legal powers of the corporation were: acquiring permanences, consolidating contracts, coming into a legacy and enforcing sales. Gierke writes the penultimate sentence that the corporations dissolved when its members fell out and its property became derelict.

Set against this background, we may define panchayat as a complex organisation with aggregates of unit organisations. It is very far away from the thought of modern dictatorships. Chester Bernard defines dictatorships as the power-structure where personal liberty is at a minimum and authority at a maximum. As a refreshing contrast, in the panchayat there is creative collectivity.

With a good deal of understanding of the political process, Gierke developed the Italian theory of corporate groups into

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political pluralism. He rightly foresaw the evils of regimented power. He was fully conscious that the only cure for the insolence and folly of bureaucracy was a pluralist political ordering. His pluralist thought was in accord with the standpoint of the American pragmatic thinker, William James, who defined it as "Nothing includes everything nor overrides everything". It was unity in plurality, oneness in many-ness. This distributive technique is securely enshrined in the panchayat. The irony of the age is that the western intellectuals will not accept panchayat till the pundits of the New Statesman withdraw their disapproving eye.

Now, King Mahendra has a hard fight on his hands to win world recognition for the panchayat. Three years ago, when the sustained campaign of the press was unleashed against his revolutionary concept—politics without politicians, he was the lone cliff-hanger. The diplomatic pressures were united on one target, the belligerent mood of the king. They tarred with the same brush his new politics as a maelstrom which would throw the sprouting progressive forces in the Himalayan kingdom into its tormented waters. The king moved away from the western political theory and institutions, partly from conviction and partly from historical necessity. Panchayat may be abhorrent to the aid-givers whose budget is democratically voted. The majority rule based on party system is deeply abhorrent to King Mahendra. For a while, he was pushed into the party system. He had to wrestle with his conscience and his judgement when he introduced it. When he short-circuited parliamentary democracy on the advice of the far-sighted British diplomats he had to face passing gibe as well as total misrepresentation.

The critics felt particularly disturbed when he introduced as the central political concept, the panchayat. They demanded historical evidence, proof and validity. The historical fifth columnists sneered at it as a new way of authoritarian rule.

The west is slowly realising that in the political thinking of King Mahendra there is the union of sociology with history. It has given him a depth of insight and synthesizing power. He is deeply interested in working politics and not in the theorist's quarrel.

The major irony is that critics fight a rear-guard action against new trends in the name of progress. At one crucial stage their smear-campaign led to the breakdown not only of understanding but of brother-love of two countries. Instead of acknowledging the deb

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to the king for re-awakening loyalty to traditional political values, the politicians across the frontier, showed nagging suspicion. The pose and rant of these sceptical outsiders was unjust for themselves and bad for the neighbours. They forgot the organising principle in the king's politics was a vision—unfreezing power, the panchayat.

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POLITICS WITHOUT POLITICIANS

THE problem whether parliamentary democracy of the Westminster model would suit the non-British stock of people has taxed the finest minds of the age. The final indication has recently come from a panel of British theorists. Ivor Blumer-Thomas expressly says that in countries peopled by migrants of the present British stock the party system is transplanted with success. He is not over-harsh in taking this view. It only means that the British are not a superior race but a different people. Wherein lies the secret of their character?

An Englishman was standing despairingly beside his stalled car. A couple of toughs were careering on the road, and as they walked up to him, he said: "Would you be good enough to push me down to a filling station? I'm out of gas."

They nodded and got behind the car to push. The owner took

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the steering. After pushing about half-a-mile they came near a station. The owner gestured the pushers to continue.

A pusher wiped the beads of perspiration on his forehead. He yelled: "Hey, here's a station. Why don't you turn into it?"

"Surely", rapped out the owner, "but you will have to keep pushing. This station does not have my brand of gas!" Even in droll situations one can catch the British John Bullish tenacity and humour. They want their political dish to be served with sophistication and spice.

Giving an over-all picture of the working of the party system in Britain, a sitting member of the Parliament records that corruption has left its profound traces in its history: "Throughout the eighteenth and considerable part of the nineteenth century, bribery and corruption were rife. Members had to pay heavily for the privilege of representing their constituencies and when in Parliament they expected to recoup the sum in favours, honours, and sometimes hard cash."

While the English political tradition has idealised the party system, there is no mention of it even in the statutes or other documents which contain the written part of the British constitution. Even in the official reports of the Parliament reference to the parties is scrupulously avoided. However, the struggle for power by polarised parties is a basic feature of the British constitutional life. It is vital to remember that voting in the Parliament is on party lines and the Prime Minister is drawn from the majority party. The paradox is that any attempt to include the party in the description of a member is stoutly resisted.

The two tests of British integrity and stamina are the Parliament and cricket. The West Indies play cricket better and, this is why, they are getting on with representative government better than other Crown colonies.

Another political insight by the British experts is that it has taken several centuries for Britain to acquire the political skills and capacities. The Afro-Asian countries can't develop it in a few decades. A quick jump from Crown colony to independence has given a refined constitutional apparatus to politically amateurish people. They argue that the emergent Afro-Asian countries should

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seek a variant to the party system. A few more contend that the Asians should not be hustled into ignoring a patent British character. It took over seventy years for Britain to sweep away "the rotten part of our constitution", the rotten boroughs. The contemporary Asian mood which has a wide range of revolutionary allegiances and prejudices cannot tolerate a timelag between social needs and legislation. The recommended British prescription requires a client of certain quality and conviction.

Party system means different things to different countries. In the old democracies like Canada it has produced stable regimes. It has built up its economy and international prestige. Its new parties, National Progressive and new democratic party, are well-balanced. Re-groupings and splits have produced cleavages in the Australian party politics. The Liberal-Country coalition has won six consecutive general elections. Outwardly it is tripartite, two conservative parties coalesced on one side and a strong Labour party on the other. In New Zealand the early party conflicts were on the regional interests. Later it was supplanted by a war of ideologies—Liberals versus Conservatives. The latest picture is a two-party system, Labour and National party. Similar to the story of British politics, a third party, the Labour, has emerged.

In most of the Afro-Asian countries, parliamentary democracy of the Westminster model has been less effective and more confused. Pakistan, Nigeria, Ghana, and British Guiana have buried without the shedding of a tear the parliamentary practice. Ivor Blumer-Thomas makes the shrewd observation: "The party system fails to satisfy the tests of a reasonable expectation". While the right-wing politicians are "Woolly bores", the left extreme are "Hicoughing encyclopaedia with an unerring flair for the obscure and empty slogans". His ideology is "Half-digested trivia". There is a new genre of politicians with pseudo-democratic conceit, with their initialled cuff-links and initialled shirts of exquisite terylene.

In the overseas countries of British stock the Crown has acted as a mystic symbol and developed in them a folk consciousness. Party system has thrown up reforming statesmen who built up an emotional nationalism which cemented the bonds between the older dominions and the mother country.

In the Indian sub-continent the monolith structure of the Congress party has changed. The party which won the laurel wreath of liberty could easily wield the instruments of power in the post-

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freedom era. Till the last general elections, there was a single definition of political party and its strategy. Now centrifugal forces and their fused strength are in power in a majority of states. Arrogant adulation of power brought about the sunset of the Congress rule in the provincial set-up. The leadership of Indira Gandhi, which enshrines the last shreds of the revolutionary element of the Congress, has saved the party from total shipwreck.

The pincers and dogma produced in Pakistan are so typical of backward-looking authoritarianism. The strongest political party, the Muslim League, has hammered out its irrationalism into a mythical image. Its ranks are split into two — the conventionists, supporting and supported by the Government and the Councillors, an amalgam of opposition parties. The combined opposition has a minimal programme: direct election by adult suffrage and stripping the President's powers and transferring a substantial portion to the Assemblies. Pakistan has the gift of being inside and outside the party system at the same moment.

The party system in Ceylon has become a complicated stage-play. In Ceylon there is a plethora of parties: United National Party, Federal Party, Shri Lanka Freedom, Tamil Congress and the Peoples' United Front which has come under the wings of Senanayake's coalition. The coalition pattern of Mrs. Bandaranayake is less surely woven; Shri Lanka Federation Party, Lanka Sama Samaj Party and the Communist party. Mr. Senanayake had ninety supporters while Mrs. Bandaranayake could muster fifty-five. She had to reluctantly yield to the verdict of electors.

The non-fulfilment of hope, layers of emergent cynicism covering the conscience of politicians, weak-kneed surrender to anti-historical forces and individual and group selfishness resulted in the decadence of the party system in India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

In Africa every politically liberated country is expected to dance to the piper's tune of party system. The population of Nigeria equals the United Kingdom and it is a congerie of tribes, religions and languages. Parties are broad-based on tribal divisions. In 1960 Nigeria threw off the British political yoke. The eastern region is dominated by the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. The Action party has its sway over the western region. The Northern Peoples' Congress was formed to press the claims of the traditional north. In the Federal Parliament the Northern Peoples' Congress has a key role. A coup by a group of officers

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culminated in the grim murders of the federal prime minister, Sir Abu Bakar Tafawa Balewa and the northern and western premiers, Sir Ahmedu Bello and Chief Akimbola. These are the blood-dripping pages of the party system. Again, Nigeria is torn by regional feuds. It is poised for second Ibo massacre. Only the mediating role of the British can save Nigeria from grim carnage.

In 1957 the Gold Coast became independent under the name of Ghana. Inflammable political parties like the Northern Peoples' Congress and the National Liberation movement sprouted up. In 1960 Dr. Nkrumah annexed the post of the President to his responsibilities as prime minister. Dr. Nkrumah announced in 1963 that he approved the amendment to the constitution which declared Ghana would become one-party state. The amendment enthroned one interest, i.e., the Convention Peoples' party, in the seat of power. The move of the President sparked off the resentment of the banned parties. Party leaders in the African states are rugged individuals and a new policy or initiative ends in a galore of political murders and exiles. In Kenya fierce tribal loyalties have sapped the foundations of the party system. In that multi-racial state the parties are polarised on the issue of independence versus retention of European privilege.

In Kenya politics was torn by the rival ambitions of the KANU and KADU. When KANU desired centralised State, KADU agitated for devolution of power. The United Kingdom government accepted the standpoint of KADU and seven regions with their own assemblies were formed. The results of the election of 1963 shattered the dream of a multi-racial Kenya. Kenyatta headed KANU cabinet and KADU went into opposition. In 1964 KADU merged into KANU and the two polarised camps folded their tents and formed a single entity. Kenya turned overnight into a single party state.

Uganda attained independent status in 1962 and its two-party system—Uganda Peoples' Congress and Kabaka Yekka—is functioning smoothly.

In 1962 Tanganyika became an independent republic within the Commonwealth. The rivalry between the Zanzibar Nationalist party and the Afro-Shirazi party kept tensions boiling up. In the 1961 elections the Nationalists and the Afro-Shirazists won equal number of seats. The Zanzibar and Pemba People's Federation which held three seats plumped in favour of the Nationalists. The

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Prime Minister was one of the three. It was shrewd political bargaining. In 1963 the banning of the Ulema party led to the overthrow of the government. The flight of the Sultan was the signal for proclaiming the state as a republic. It ended in the merger of Zanzibar into Tanganyika. The dramatic events climaxed in the birth of the United Republic of Tanzania. The upshot of the general elections of 1965 was Nyerere was chosen the president. The single party TANU put up two candidates for each seat. Thus, there were thrilling contests within its own fold.

In Rhodesia the conflict between the European and African blocs has impeded the growth of the two-party system. In 1964, the United Nationalist Independence party captured power by defeating the National Assembly. It is now an independent country within the Commonwealth with the new name, Zambia.

Since the attainment of independence, Nyasaland is called Malawi and has turned into a one-party state. The Malawi Congress party shines as a monolith. In West Indies, the party system has maintained balance and breadth of outlook. Its firmly rooted democratic socialist parties—Jamaica Labour party and the Peoples' National party, have alternated in power. In British Guiana, party system is vitiated by raciasm. In Malaysia the Alliance party led by Tunku Abdul Rehman holds office. It is opposed by the Social Democratic party.

In this brief survey, there is a surfeit of names of parties and political trends. It was no easy decision for us to include this conspectus. The readers might feel that they are on the swing of a roundabout. We have written it with a conscious ear to the stirrings of new forces on the Afro-Asian stage. The three flaws in the working of the party system demand a major change of strategy. The parties lack a mood of compromise and dignity of acceptance. In some countries first-line politicians have faded out of the scene. In the African states the ends of policy are neither defined nor grasped. The division of parties is more on racial or regional lines than on a clear-cut economic or social conditions.

In some of the African republics one interest is embalmed with power while the other parties are banned or liquidated Furthermore, the president holding the office of the prime minister also has reduced parliamentary democracy to a hollow mockery. The question stares in the face, how to educate the new rulers?

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SOCIAL scientists tell us that modern democracy has two broad meanings: A cohesive social purpose or a well-stoked governmental machine. The terms 'responsible government' and 'representative government' are also loosely applied in any discussion on the democratic process. The Fascist and the Nazi regimes also were representative but not responsible. By the same token, a government might be responsible, lacking in representative character.

In common parlance, democracy means the power to vote out of office the ruling elite or to change its policy. With the single exception of Switzerland most of the modern democracies are indirect. It is argued that the legislature essentially represents the people or the nation. In this sense democracy means within a historical frame individuals are free and equal atoms.

For a comparative study, the German and French concepts of government would be significant. Hegel's doctrine was that representatives should suggest ideas and not exert authority. He firmly held the view that sovereignty was an attribute of the king. The French outlook was enshrined in the Declaration of the Rights of Man: "Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights. A nation is essentially the source of sovereignty. Nor can any individual or body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it. The law is the experience of the will of the community. All citizens have the right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation". Only in recent decades universal suffrage has enabled the individual to achieve sovereign authority in the nation. The representative political institutions came into vogue to bridge the gulf between the individuals and the nation. For achieving this mutual identity, party system and quick transport were the instruments.

Property, educational standards, race and sex qualifications were prescribed for the electorate. The nomination of the candidate and the influences brought to bear on the voters are strands in the electoral method. In a sophisticated way some theorists say that people choose their representative. In truth, they have just a political opportunity to choose the nominees of parties.

Public opinion is a cardinal theme in party politics. Is it fact, will, belief or a mighty abstraction? The individual knows a record of facts and its evaluation. When it crystallises into belief and man acts on it. In a democracy the masses are voters and propaganda

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agencies manipulate the masses. They work up the emotional levers of the masses and generate a hysteria. The social scientists call it the rape of the masses. Public opinion therefore is not the harmonization of little individual whispers. It is the intimidating voice of the agency. Without a native aptitude, the voter cannot pick up his way through a litter of slogans and ideologies. Furthermore, the low potential means in the masses brings no electoral wisdom or insight. Only when politics is a continual movement or process, the ethical temper of the community can be sharpened. Moreover, the party has an all-inclusive character which conditions man from the kindergarten to old age pensions. The full measure of achievement of a party depends largely upon its ability to reconcile regional interests with occupational demands. The party machine organises a personal call on the voter to know his affiliation and flatter him by its attentions. It is not keen to foster a favouring environment for the creative unfolding of his personality.

The merits of the party system are, it bridges distance and fights apathy. It hammers out a scale of values, short-term as well as long-term, to fulfil the public demands. Professor Lazarsfeld points out that political parties produce three effects: activate the voter, reinforce beliefs and convert to their nostrum: "This is what the campaign does: reinforcement potentiality 55 per cent, activation 14 per cent, reconversion 3 per cent, partial conversion 6 per cent, conversion 8 per cent, no effect 10 per cent". In his view the party system and propaganda are meant to transform the latent political tendency into a manifest vote.

In political propaganda distortion, barrage of lies, half-truths, and lampoon have a short positive influence. The modern democratic electorate has a heavy responsibility. For, its vote decision is the future government. Its apathy or negligence might place a nation on the brink of social and political chaos. Even in Soviet Russia the rulers feel that the people must be held in tutelage.

Professor Herman Finer observes: "It is not unreasonable to hold that the regime of political parties, hitherto known, cannot satisfy the needs of democratic government—that is, achieve welfare, natural justice and progress under the impulse of freely and actively cooperative citizens—without a marked improvement in the formation of parties, the selection of representatives, nation-wide discussion of the means to be determined, and unremitting vigilance over the legislature. Britain's survival is, in part, due to the high degree of civic understanding of its people".

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In Nepal political parties had to depend on foreign subsidies for literature, speakers, money, transport and net of local caucuses. By promising certain vital concessions, the Nepali Congress got a million rupees from an outside power. Close observers in the valley know how one of the top leaders of the Nepali Congress, cloaked in a burka, was visiting under the cover of night a former Rana prime minister and collecting money from him. They also know how an exiled Rana leader and his father were getting free foreign tractors and distributing its sale proceeds among the rank and file of the party. The energising and strategic centre of the campaign was not the central party machine but foreign agencies. These agencies even brought about a rapproachement between the warring groups by dangling the proverbial carrots. By controlling the ruling party, the foreign powers were setting the pace of national politics.

In the party government even reactionary groups pose that they are national in intent and benefits. While in Britain the sale of honours for the party contributions prevails, in Nepal there was the sale of national interest by the party bosses. This "bought propaganda" was corroding the national life. It was apparent that the theoretical boasts of a party were poles apart from the cynicism of the politician, who distributed the plums of office among the "spoilsmen". The statement "We accept party contributions but not on terms" must raise a smile. The Kathmandu valley became the playground for political trickeries and malpractices. The moral and aesthetic qualities of the political process were effectively undermined.

We have in our possession a table giving full details of the subsidies received by politicians, patterns of concealment and investment and the functioning of their touts. The present author knows that an ex-prime minister of Nepal, in whom qualities of political conscience and character were lacking, had piled up over twenty-eight lakhs of rupees during his tenure of office.

There is a significant difference in political parties in Britain, France and America, and parties in the Himalayan stronghold. For the maintenance of the power of the party, its leaders made partisan appeals, corrupted the services by 'spoils', crippled the national economy and brushed up the gangster tactic. As the inroads into their pockets grew, so did their self-intoxication.

Professor Herman Finer x-rays the modern parties in a luminous sentence: "Some parties are close to being little more than associations for economic purposes; in a comparatively strict sense, others

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are almost like churches militant embracing a complete religion or philosophy, high in temper and determination; others again, are mixtures of a profound and all-embracing social philosophy and a special economic interest—with either an equal or unequal emphasis on the philosophy or the interest but not excluding the one or the other". Rising to positive assertion, he adds-"Parties are varieties of multipurpose associations, rising to some that have as their concern the totality of human existence".

What swiftly brought about the end of party system in Nepal? The king did not like to don the robes of a dictator. On the contrary, the prime minister was screaming from foreign shores that the king was the bane of progress. The most potent cause for the total eclipse of the party system was the ruling party could not stand outside pressures and domestic unrest. The inflated ego of the prime minister was no alternative response to unimplemented programme. The central party machine was not motivated by any social or economic creed but turned into log-roller for subsidies. There was neither research of policy nor any attempt to give an institutional expression to its vague left-wing doctrine.

It ignored the depth of reverence the people had for the Crown. It is a link of historical epochs, the fountain-head of culture pattern, the centre of political values, an emblem of state power, a monument of spiritual glory and artistic hope and the rallying-point of national sentiment and discipline. The Nepali Congress leader shouted that his party was the king. The king banned the parties and the nation acclaimed his action. Since the Royal take-over, Nepal has lived in national unity, discipline and peace. The people have acquired the demeanor, idiom, programme and behaviour pattern of a new dispensation—politics without politicians.

Party system failed in Nepal, basically, as it failed in many Afro-Asian countries. The politicians did not appreciate in time the writing on the wall. The insolence of office and lack of self-criticism spelled its doom. It did not understand that the king had the strongest political card in his hand—identity with the mass mood. The guilt must be squarely fixed on the Nepali Congress government. It was solely responsible for building its house of cards on the shaky basis of foreign signals and subsidies. It conflicted with the concept of independence and estranged the national sympathy.

This think-up of Stalin must be inscribed as an epitaph on the

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doomed party system: "We may take it as a rule, that as long as the Bolsheviks maintain connection with the broad masses of the people, they will be invincible. And, on the contrary, as soon as the Bolsheviks severed themselves from the masses and lose their connection with them, as soon as they become covered with bureaucratic rust, they will lose all their strength and become a mere cipher".

The newly liberated Afro-Asian countries have re-oriented their government by taking the model and cliche either from Britain or America. Some of them have picked up new names of their choosing. Nepal, in particular, forms a natural magnet to those powers who are fascinated by devolution. In the new nationalism there is the release of vitality and eloquence. But their political premise and idiom are creating an old fashioned atmosphere. The government must rest basically on something in Afro-Asian character. In most of the African states the one-party-government has soon turned political jubilation into a mini-war. Any second it might flare up into uncontrollable slaughter. After the barren wastes of party system, the Afro-Asians should finally coalesce to become "a family of serving citizens". This compulsive desire for building up a new picture of free and integral man runs through the panchayat thesis of King Mahendra. After a politics of uncouth thugs and the bizarre party government experience, King Mahendra has set off to bring democratic virtue and confidence to the people. In the Panchayat the contenders in the primaries are a family and the family lives in a four-storeyed mansion. Now the nation is trapped into a harmonised living.

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PANCHAYAT GOVERNMENT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

THE panchayat King Mahendra has offered is something traditional and recognisably Nepali. It is strong in local as well as national atmosphere and certitudes. Instead of inner contradictions and working at cross-purposes it echoes with loyalty to spontaneous group action. In the panchayat process there is an emphasis on a pool of wills and interests and not on party system. In our own day, one can see the toxic effects of parties functioning in the panchayats in India and its nullification in Nepal. They are contrasts in attitudes. By far the partyless Nepali approach to the panchayat is more original and daring.

King Mahendra is a mannerist in politics. It means he has a definite style of thought or ideology. It has its empirical tests as well as utopian elements. It bestows careful thought on the interpretation of human condition. In point of tempo, it is convincing. In the king's hands, a new trend gets off to a quick start. The growth-

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process is nourished by his insights. Of course, the retardative forces are there but the revolutionary will prevails over them. The king knows that in a dynamic society tensions simmer and sag.

At the heart of his political realisation lies a conviction. It hurries him ahead to build an orderly functioning state. In it the individual has to nip up the spiral staircase of power. For, its perspective is structural and establishes a hierarchy of values.

It is a magnificent moment when there is a fine stretch of social purpose. This Kathmandu-oriented concept of power has democratically shifted emphasis from external to internal social action.

King Mahendra thought that the party system would be a treasured aid to democracy. Plainly it became an embarrassment. In 1960 the chopper fell on the party government and the panchayat came on the political stage by the purest chance.

Looking in retrospect, the panchayat has proved an unmixed blessing. It has taught the people robust democratic virtue and enabled them to hold its tenets in memory. This essentially traditional pose has created moulds in which the pattern of freedom can set firm. Earlier we have made it clear in Nepal it was the sinister role of the politicians that made the people detest the otherwise splendid adjunct—party system. No doubt, to the western political interests and its fans in the Afro-Asian countries, the party system has the force of gospel. In recent times, King Mahendra's new wind of doctrine has swept away the charm of the party system from the South-East Asian sphere. Some powers thought that by the turn of a switch they could reinstate the party system in the Himalayan kingdom. But their fumbling efforts made it progressively hard for them even to retain the toehold in the valley power game.

The adaptation and extent of the panchayat thesis is now within the grasp of the leaders. It would be easier to build into the panchayat foundation a new device for fostering sobriety, wisdom and balance. This is why there is an easy flow from tier to tier of power and choice.

The king contends that each country has to answer three specific questions before launching out a new political institution: Is it a response to a given historical need? Does it fulfil the conditions of good government and promote individual happiness? Does it preserve the unity of the country?

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In a modern community a power relationship governs the individual and the collective. The national fabric of this relationship is the constitution. There is a bewildering variety in frameworks and substance of modern constitutions. A constitution has a definite bearing on the fundamental political institutions existing within the penumbra of a state. They in turn reflect the historical genius of the people and relate power to the prevailing social environment.

In modern state activity there is a pronounced individual deficiency. Mere doctrinnaire fervour will vaporise if the constitution is unrelated to the existing power relationships. In many traditions the equivalent of constitution is 'fundamental'. In Great Britain, it is something more firmly rooted than the ordinary law of the land. In Germany it means the basic ground which fastens things. A constitution seeks to establish some institutions, interests and rights as fundamentals. It is a minimisation of uncertainties in community life.

The written constitution is called "The instrument of government". Montesquieu has given a classic formula for differentiating monarchy and despotism. "Monarchical government is that in which one person governs, but by fixed and established laws; while in a despotism there is a single ruler without law or regulation, led only by his will and caprices". This *Loi fundamental* is the bedrock of monarchical rule in Nepal. According to Montesquieu, the fundamental law props up the freedom of the individual and the community. Thus constitution legalises the historical aspirations of a people and sets boundaries to the sway of absolute power.

Funnily enough, concepts culled out from the phrase-book of American revolution form the ideological rant of the French revolutionaries. The French cliche stirs the imagination of the contemporary Afro-Asian revolutionary movements. Words like "National convention," "Fundamental rights and duties" still have a potent spell.

There has been ignorant bravado about the so-called democratic forces stalking the head up in the Kathmandu valley. Only the firm stand of the king has mass support. Random violence and booby traps can only keep the file of the release of politicals in the pending tray. The occasional minor gusts should not delude the outsiders into the belief that the horizon of the valley is disturbed by political storms. In truth, the remnants of the Nepali Congress,

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with its mobile camp in a foreign country, is embroiled between Maoist and anti-Maoist, pro-and-anti this Rana or that.

We wish to reiterate that the king is averse to a cockey evasion of pressing issues. Being a trained strategist, he knows that the pressure groups would become more clamant with each fresh concession that was made. It is the unrelaxed national discipline that has saved the country from distempers fanned by outside hysteria.

The ticklish question is often posed: Who were paying for the political parties in Nepal? In Britain the Labour party's main source of income is a semi-autonomous levy on the trade unions. The Conservative party thrives on the multitudinous generosity of the owners of breweries. In West Germany the public subsidies prop up the party. In Nepal the parties were making political calls on embassies. Donations from business oligarchs was a tall myth. A scrutiny of the party economics shows that it was heavily dependant on an exile Rana businessman who was a tout of foreign powers. When a party is vulnerable to foreign money its policies will be one of empty ideological content. In the west the pattern of income of a party depends on its identification with an economic interest. On the contrary, in Nepal the condition of party funds revealed the power behind the state policy.

We would like to bring to an intense focus, as a clinical example, the problems the American founding fathers confronted when they hammered out the basic constitutional framework. It was mostly a colonial society, one-third unfranchised and less than five per cent voting in the national convention. The ideological fire, and regional selfishness were counter-balanced by a unifying spiritual vision. The compromise between the small and the large state units was shoddy and later the units could not tackle basic issues like colour and race conflicts. Moreover, the delegates to the convention had no specific mandate. Prof. Charles Beard comments that the constitution went into effect when nine of these states ratified it, was a *coup de etat*. As there are hardly a dozen amendments since its existence of one fifty years it shows how American constitution is unrelated to social ethos.

We are presenting two views of outstanding political theorists on the nature of the constitution. Prof. Harold Laski very neatly formulates its fundamental aspect: "There are notions so fundamental that it is necessary in every state to give them special protection. It (legislature) ought not, in a word, to be able to alter the

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basic framework of state except, when is rendered difficult. This implies, I think, a written constitution."

In March 1933, Hitler was empowered by the Reichstag to make laws by cabinet decrees even if they amended the constitution. Under the shadow of the mailed fist, he could manipulate the required two-thirds majority, justifying the supremacy of the Fuhrer's will. The German theorist, R. Stodter writes the penetrating lines: "National life needs a container to be able to utilise forces active within it. The foundation of the national being is the constitution, the fundamental issue in which, a political people forms itself into a state. Constitution is not a number of assemblage of individual constitutional laws but an echoed whole made up of all the principles, the spirit and nature of the national being". He argues that in the power game of the Hitler movement there was a principle of world-view which was the overriding criterion for change.

Prof. Smith, a British jurist, defines post-war constitutions as "A basic document or group of documents, which defines (among other things), the structure, functions and the inter-relationships of principal organs of government". He refers to two broad types of constitutions: Made in London, meaning the Westminster model and the home-made, i.e., constitutions in presidential regimes; monarchical and republican; federal and unitary; flexible and rigid.

It may be argued that a written constitution is more supreme and fundamental than unwritten. Prof. Herman Finer gives the rebuttal: "The essence of British constitution is the unalterable character. For, there is an inherent conservative character in all things and concepts". Prof. Finer nails the myth that a written constitution is more decisive than the unwritten. "We must say at once that the constitution of the United States is contained in official edition in 31 pages; but the clauses which set down the chief cases fought upon, they need more then a thousand pages, and then it must be remembered that in most cases there is a dissenting opinion, and finally, that students may even dissent from both the majority and the minority. (In all, over forty thousand cases have been fought)". Since the days of Geremy Bentham, the view is still held in Britain that the lawyers are singularly ill-equipped to pass judgements on matters of government. They approvingly quote Geremy Bentham: "The opinion of lawyers on a question of legislation is particularly liable to be tinged with falsity by the operation of sinister interests".

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It is a daunting task to distil into a few pages the basic tenets of modern constitution-making. In such a treatment there is always a danger of flip effervescence. In the constitutional process there have been elements of irony and doom as well as the power to evoke reverence. In recent months we have seen in Africa how settled governments were thrown over-board on the question of amendment to the constitution. It has also given the strong impetus to political assassination. Law loses its moral sanctity when the amending process runs counter to the national passion.

The reading tastes of our time have forced upon us the labels ancient and contemporary. It has crept into the sphere of constitutions also. In our view, the distinction is obsolete. For, contemporary is dated while ancient is the fundamental. In most post-war constitutions they have dished out the timeless fundamentals in a more acceptable or mauled idiom. Any clever international lawyer can draft a constitution in a few hours as there are many models to imitate. The stiff-necked morality of the constitutional purist has failed in stamping power with a native philosophy. In recent years a leading constitutional lawyer of Britain drafted an enticing British brand of constitution for Nepal. It established the pre-eminence of party system in its political life. It is one of the best drafted constitutions and shall be remembered by the constitutional pundits. Admittedly, it failed to exploit a disciplined range of traditional interests and loyalties.

It is a rare and agreeable luxury to read the massive volume of prof. Herman Finer on the Theory and Practice of Modern Government. The eminent British theorist refers to the constitution as the paramount regulator of the political behaviour. They fall into two great classes: "In one of which constitutionality is ultimately interpreted by the courts of law, where in the other, political institutions —of which the representative assembly is the most important, as the law-making and executive controlling institution—themselves determine the constitutionality of their actions". In the first group comes the United States, Canada and Switzerland; in the second, Great Britain, France and West Germany. The panchayat archetype of King Mahendra swings more towards United States as judicial review maintains the supremacy of the constitution.

There is a familiar tag that every constitution is a failure before it has begun. This statement would be pleasing to the modernist ear which respects no idols and conventions. Constitution-making is a legal convention, some avow, while others by-pass. The

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definition of the constitution by the great German theorist, prof. Carl Schmidt has fervour and weight: "A constitution is a simple political act binding the future".

There are two methods of drafting a constitution. One is the dominion practice, and the other, the continental method. What is basic to the dominion practice or the Westminster model is a rigid legal garment. As a contrast, the dominant trait in the post-war constitutions of Europe is a fundamental economic and social reconstruction. Power is related to the emergent beat of history.

Thinkers who are under the spell of sociology of law contend that power should be linked to the given social reality. They make savage flicks at the constitutional purists or legal positivists. They pointedly say that law can regulate but cannot create. In other words, legalism is narrow. It cannot help in the renewal of society on a new foundation. A constitution dominated by a black-coated fraternity cannot uncover the social spring of power. It can only formulate in a legal theorem the juridical power of state.

The significance and content of the panchayat constitution lie in the desire of the monarch to broad-base the government on the popular will. It would be a rash conclusion to say that it underpins the sovereignty of the people. In the aeons of Nepal's history the crown has always remained the institutional embodiment of sovereignty. When the sovereign, by his own free will, imposes checks on his absolute power, there is no diminution or loss of sovereignty.

In commending the constitution to his people, His Majesty, in frank and luminous words has set forth the basic objectives in the preamble. Constitutional purists might argue that the preamble has no binding power. Nevertheless, it enshrines the directive principles. When the preamble comes from the throne, it is glowed by truth, warm and expansive love and vision of unity.

The preamble lays emphasis on the fundamental principle—devolution of functions. It declares the best legacy of the throne of Nepal is service to the people. To make it a political reality in the altered historical context, the king had taken the momentus step. The king is bound by the mandate of Dharma, and, therefore, the people are the dearest thing to him. The democratic principle, which has suffused Panchayat, requires that government should rest on three pillars: a four-tiered political structure with diffused

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power; Gram, Zilla, Anchal and Rashtriya panchayat. The spiral of tiers would include village primaries, district, zonal and national panchayats.

The second pillar is the national panchayat. A unicameral legislature with its triple functions, law-making, control of the executive and framing of policy. The king legislates, interprets and governs through national panchayat and supreme court and council of ministers. The ministers are answerable to the legislature or the national panchayat for the day-to-day conduct of the government. The executive has mixed power. It makes, sits in judgment, and executes policies. The court reviews laws and interprets the constitution. In the telling words of Chief Justice Hughes of the United States: "We are under a constitution, but the constitution is what we judges say what it is". It is the system of authoritative interpretations or logic of construction. The panchayat government rests on this triad of power; the national panchayat, the supreme court and the council of ministers.

As a rationalisation of power and expression of political doctrine, the preamble has chiselled beauty:

> "Whereas it is desirable in the best interests and all-round progress of the kingdom of Nepal and of the Nepalese people to conduct the government of our country in accordance with the popular will".
>
> "Now, therefore, I, King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shaha Deva, in exercise of the sovereign powers and prerogatives inherent in us according to the constitution, law, custom and usage of our country and which devolved on us from our august and reverened forefathers, do hereby enact and promulgate the constitution".

The panchayat construct is representative of the geographical area and responsible as the government would be carried on by the representatives of the people. This political arrangement is not an assault on the sovereign power of the king, but the king has delegated his powers to the panchayat. Now the people are exercising authority and not ranged against it. Therefore, the regime is fully democratic.

The social power relationship is given a conceptual and juridical garment as the panchayat kingdom. The institutional arrangements are in harmony with the historical traditions of the land and political genius of the people. After stating the purpose and temper of the new political order, the appropriate state mechanism

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is sketched out. The opening clause declares that the constitution is the fundamental law of Nepal. Thus a legal vestment and solemnity is given. The second clause envisions Nepal as a nation, a dread word in political science. Both pressure and prejudice were brought on the annulment of the third clause which the king stoutly resisted: "Nepal is an independent, indivisible and sovereign monarchical Hindu State".

The democratic spirit of the Hindu kingdom is enshrined in the fundamental rights and duties. It is framed and set in the direction of greater economic and social equality. In this respect, the political model has been the Weimar Republican Constitution of 1919 of Germany. Human passion and pen cannot word it better and it has inspired all the post-war constitutions. The political essence of the panchayat is preserved in consent of the governed, tolerance and excluding none from the benefits and opportunities of collective life. Clause 14 is a significant pointer:

> "Every person having regard to the traditions may profess and practise his own religion as handed down from ancient times provided that no person shall be entitled to convert another person from one religion to another".

The king is convinced that without equality of human condition and effort there cannot be harmony, peace and unity of the realm. In the clauses bearing on the principles of social policy, an attempt is made to relate power to the social ethos. Moreover, what is basic to the post-war constitutions of Europe is building the economic postulate into the foundations of power. The same democratic temper has forged this new social strategy:

> "1. The aim of the State shall be to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a just social order which brings about harmony in the national life by integrating and consolidating the interests of different classes and professions from a comprehensive national outlook".

Here it would be pertinent to interpolate the remark that social inequalities and the energising principle of the panchayat government are incompatible. The constitution attacks at the roots of vested interests. Any refusal to face the grim economic realities would have immediately wrecked the constitution.

Power is the first law of politics and to that end all other interests are subordinated. According to the constitution of Nepal:

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"The sovereignty of Nepal is vested in His Majesty and all powers, executive, legislative, and judicial emanate from him".

Most of the modern states are power-political. Due to rigid centralisation, local liberty and initiative have ceased to exist. In the light of the new constitution, local bodies at the village and district levels feel they have gained the experience of corporate struggle and fulfilment. The primaries now realise that they have a place in the power structure. In the villages many have urgently aspired for election. Person-to-person encounter has developed in them some shining qualities of group action. They are free in the choice of their candidates. Law, custom and party cannot bind the voter. The village bumpkins feel that it is their turn to govern and not always to be governed. The responsiveness of the Nepali political mind has astonished many observers. The autonomous primary panchayat is a vital part in the democratic technique. By strengthening the first three tiers and by organising the political machinery of the Rashtriya panchayat, a single political tradition has unified the country.

Modern governments depend on that magic word 'the vote'. In the panchayat set-up, party mood is broken down to explanation of self by self. To shine in the national panchayat is not to have partisan mood but energy to serve.

Nepal may be a small kingdom but its ideological impact is great. Its concept panchayat evokes an atmosphere and enchants the ear. By opting for panchayat Nepal has accepted progress.

The constitutions adopted by the newly liberated African countries are fragments of the modern environment. They gain a new lease of life and relapse into torpor. The reason is structural changes in themselves mean little without a corresponding mental readjustment. Moreover, a constitution must mirror significant political facts. Then only it can exert a considerable influence over political behaviour. When there is a dichotomy between the constitution and the political realities, it is either radically amended or suppressed. A crisp and cinematic picture of the African constitutions shows that in Ghana's republican constitution the powers of the president are exalted and over-riding. The constitution of Malta gives an intimidating position to the Roman Catholic Church. The breakdown of the constitution of Cyprus was due to the fierce communal feuds between the Greeks and the Turks. The constitution of Malaysia lacks a sense of political balance. The

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first Act passed by the parliament of Malawi was to radically amend the constitution and solidly entrench Dr. Banda. By one constitutional stroke President Nkrumah could transform the country into a one-party-state. In 1956 President Mirza scrapped the constitution of Pakistan only to be superseded by President Ayub Khan within three weeks. In Zanzibar political upheaval consigned its constitution to the receptive lids of history. Burial and resurrection so quickly alternate under the African skies. Within three years of the declaration of independence, Tanganyika, Nigeria and Ghana changed their constitutional garments. Prof. S. A. De Smith in a masterly survey of contemporary African scene observes: "A constitution should be designed as an accelerator rather than a brake." He argues that the Westminster's export models do not intimately resemble the original and they cannot be easily fitted into familiar pigeon-holes.

CROWN PRINCE BIRENDRA personifies the coming hope and glory of the Himalayan Kingdom. He has been cast in the typical Eton mould. Nevertheless, the hard core of his traditional values remains intact. Liberal education has given him a background of European thought and a synoptic tone. The author had the privilege of an animated talk with the Crown Prince. He has an open mind, accepts the need for redefinition of concepts, has unshakable faith in the virile Hindu essences and welcomes the triumphs of technology. He has inherited from his father a probing mind, and from his mother, a sensitive moral quiver. History has allotted him the role of a bridge of understanding between the East and West. He is now surveying the world trends and tensions from Tokyo to Peru, and will be back in the capital after a year, with a full and integral mind.

King Mahendra has shown historical insight and radical fervour in evolving a constitution in harmony with the traditions of the land and the emergent political mood. The one flaw in the constitution is that its phrasing is undistinguished. The frequent use of et cetera lacks a sense of precision and clarity. Once a traveller walked into a hotel at Madrid. In the morning there was a discreet tap at the door. The bearer made a low bow and enquired what he should bring for his breakfast. He ordered some egg, ham, fruits et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. Soon the trolley crawled into his room and he saw it stacked with food and wines. He then asked the bearer: "The food is alright but who are these three lovely senoritas?" With a merry twinkle in his eye, the bearer replied they were the three et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

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The constitution of Nepal is an institutional mechanism to safeguard its traditions, integrity and freedom. It gives anticipatory remedies to the evils of regimentation, bureaucracy, social distances and time-lag in reform. The king has addressed himself to a set of new tasks. He knows this would be a key year in the political history of Asian countries. The imminent change encompasses a wide range. It is beyond a ballot box or a show of hands. The education of the ruling elite to a social purpose has now filled his mind. The removal of social distances and time-lag in reforms are a call to statesmanship. The other puzzles to be cleared up are: inculcation of discipline and high morale in the civil servant, equalisation of privilege, keying up foreign policy to world realities and coexistence, and the protection of the individual from wanton interference with freedom.

Living in a dynamic world, the king is encouraging in the youth the robust qualities of novelty and experiment. The sheet-anchor of his faith is that in a state there are few power centres but happiness should pervade all over the realm. The path to happiness is not the ballot box or slogan power, but shared insights. In Nepal the friends of discipline are not in a minority. The Gorkhali won't quail before the enslaving forces. No passion is deeper in the Himalayan kingdom than the throne.

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APPENDIX

EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT PANCHAYAT

By

RAMKRISHNA DALMIA

(We have great pleasure in giving in the appendix a masterly and well-documented note on the evolution of the concept panchayat in the Hindu lore written by the great Industrial pioneer, Ramkrishna Dalmia)

According to my knowledge and study of the Shastras (शास्त्र) and Puranas (पुराण) the word Panch (पञ्च) has its own significance. I have first to define who is deserving of being पञ्च, one who has fully the power of good of others and who can act for the welfare of many without thoughts of any personal gain. Really speaking the Goddess Mother (जगदम्बा) is the real 'पञ्च'. Here I say 'Mother' because the affection a mother has for her children none other has. We may call this power God or Goddess. Now I have to explain why the word 'पञ्च' was chosen to have such an importance in the scheme of Panchayat.

The spirit of love does not decrease when a man realises that perfect justice obtains in the spiritual government of the world; rather, it is increased and intensified, for he knows that men suffer because they do not understand, because they err in ignorance. "The comfortably conditioned" are frequently involved in greater suffering of their own mixed harvest of happiness and suffering. This teaching of Absolute Justice is not more encouraging for the rich than for the poor, for while it tells the rich, who are selfish and oppressive, or who misuse their wealth, that they must reap the results of all their actions, it also tells the suffering and oppressed that, as they are now reaping what they have formerly sown, they may, and surely will, by sowing the good seeds of purity, love, and peace, shortly also reap a harvest of good, and so rise above their present woes.

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The origin of the word 'Panch' is traced to the root 'पचि' meaning 'to express', the (i) (इ) in 'पचि' is converted to 'na' (न) by the action of the sutra "इदितोनुमधातोः". The word 'पञ्च' then is clarity, fearlessly expressed and distinctness in thought, word and action. The significance of the word 'Panch' is demonstrable in other ways also. With the idea of the development of creation ('सृष्टि') came the idea firstly of darkness known as 'tama' (तम) or Prakrity followed by Ahankar (अहंकार) leading to the 'Mahabhuta' or the five elements (developing in the order akash, vayu, teja, apa, prithvi) from these developed the Panch Tanmatra, the Panch Gianendriya (पंच ज्ञानेन्द्रिय) (vision, touch, taste, smell and hearing), the Panch Kermeindriya (पंच कर्मेन्द्रिय) (vak, pani, pad, payu, upstha). Each of these constituents has the capacity to control. Yet each is incapable of functioning without the others which form the whole (अपञ्चीकृत पञ्च महाभूत). The word 'Panch' then implies 'Purnta' (पूर्णता) (completeness) and the dependence of the parts on each other and the whole. The word 'Panch' thus goes to show the significance of the 'Panch' in the Panchayat system. This word also bears a special significance for Nepal where we find the sacred temple of 'पञ्चमुख महादेव' or the five-headed Mahadev, the great Pashupati Nath (पशुपतिनाथ) as also king Mahendra who is known as the Pānch Sarkar (पांच सरकार). The 'Panch' then, on an analogy, must have the capacity to control and co-ordinate.

According to Hindu religion the most heinous crime is ingratitude (कृतघ्नता). Any material aid, even a pinch of salt or a timely advice needs to be repaid with gratitude. A consoling and sympathetic but not taunting smile towards a person in grief is the biggest charity, as even a person without any resources can easily bestow upon others. Regarding sympathetic smile Mrs. Marry Macodlin of England has also stated in the same manner.

ईश्वरे परमां श्रद्धां ।
सद्धर्मे सार्वलौकिके ॥
सर्वायत्तां हि वान्छामि ।
नन्वस्मिन्नेव जीविते ॥
अनघे जातसर्वैक्ये ।
शासने सार्वदेशिके ॥
अधिगच्छतु सर्वोऽपि ।
दैनिकं स्वस्वभोजनम् ॥
वसनं च निवासं च ।
मा कश्चित् दुःखभाक् भवेत् ॥

"I crave to see in my life-time the dawn of faith in one Universal Religion and one God and all having food, clothing and shelter and leading simple, happy lives in one World Government."

The creator of the world is called Brahma (ब्रह्मा). The protector of the world is Vishnu (विष्णु), the destroyer Shiva (शिव). All three are needed for the origin, sustenance and dissolution of the world. Before acting one must have the power. The power can be obtained only by 'तप'. The creator has himself done तप before obtaining this power to create. Then he created the पञ्चकोश —constituted of the अन्नमयकोष, प्राणमयकोष, मनोमयकोष, ज्ञानमयकोष and आनन्दमयकोष—each includes the other and is contained in the other. These exist in their microscopic essential form. The Annamaya Kosh (अन्नमयकोष) (food) is necessary for 'life' (Pranmayakosh) (प्राणमयकोष) and is included under it. For life to be intelligible, the Manomaya Kosh (मनोमयकोष) (the mind) must exist. This intelligibility leads to knowledge, Gyanmaya Kosh (ज्ञानमय कोष) and finally knowledge leads to bliss (Anandmaya Kosh) (आनन्दमयकोष), the आनन्दमयकोष is thus the most comprehensive in its scope.

Next in the hierarchy we must consider the 'पंचनीति'. This includes austerity (तप), 'तप' is effective only when it is supported by honest earnings (शौच). These earnings should satisfy the person who earns satisfaction (सन्तोष). This does not mean that this

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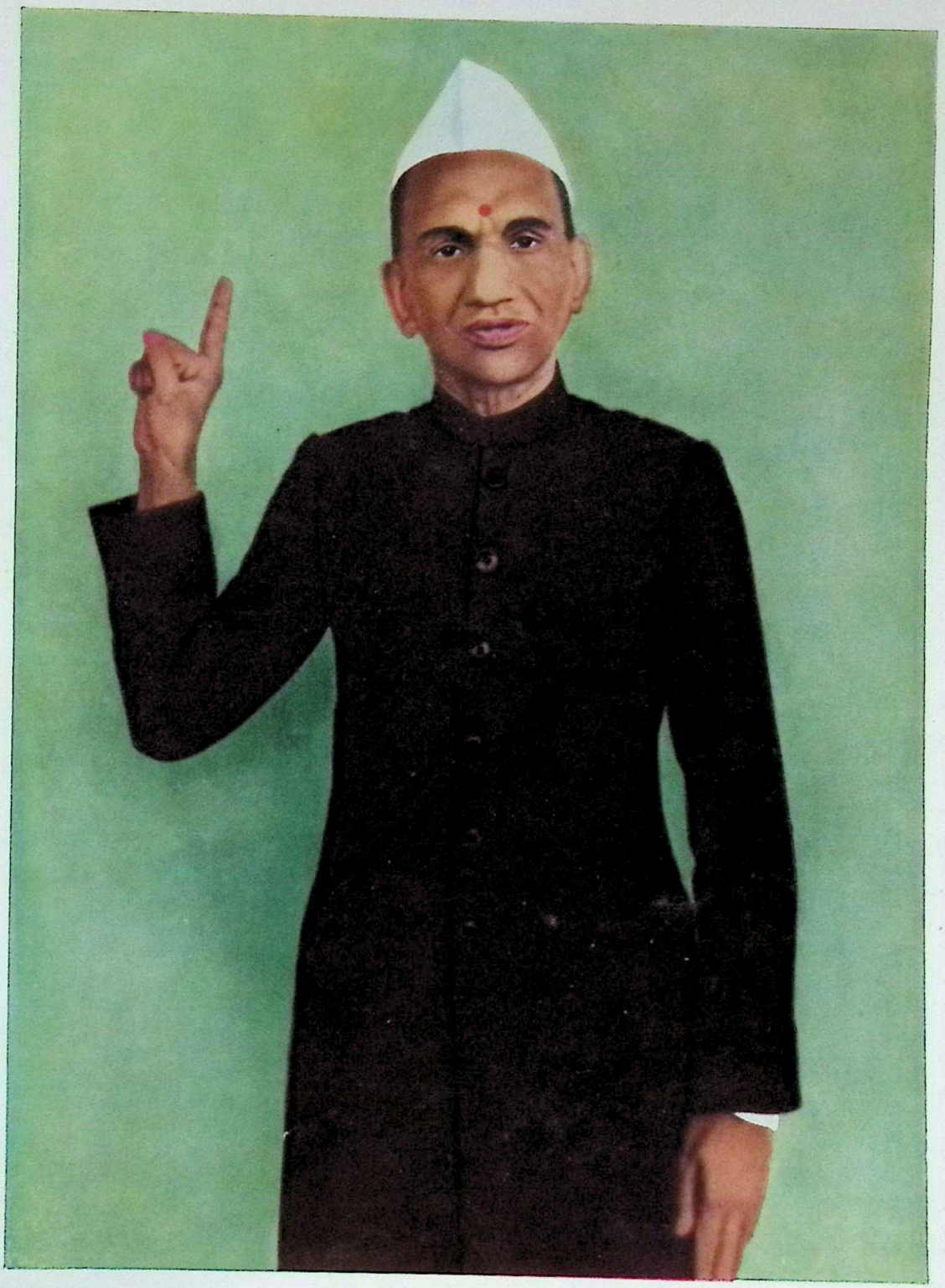

Ramkrishna Dalmia, a great industrial pioneer.

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person is to lazily accept all that comes his way. It refers to satisfaction gained by hard work and persistent effort. This attitude follows only on the knowledge of the shastras (शास्त्र). 'Swaddhyaya' (स्वाध्याय), knowledge of the 'शास्त्र' leads to a devoted belief in God (ईश्वर प्रणिधान). All these processes lead to the formation of man and woman, namely, Swayambhu manu and Shatrupa (स्वयंभू मनु and शतरूपा). The creator then designated them as 'King' and 'Queen'. According to the Vedas there is no end or beginning to the creation or world and every one is born to a higher or lower position according to their 'कर्म' or actions of the past life. In the beginning of the world to control people there must be a system, or discipline. In order that only might may not be right, this power of discipline was assigned to a King—who was considered to have absolute power for the good of his people, and the aim of his life was to protect his people, the weak and the disabled, equally. Most kings in the past have been ideal and in our own times King Mahendra of Nepal has also distinguished himself in following the traditional ideal path. The only aim of the lives of King Mahendra and Queen Ratna is to seek the good of the people by means of their tapa (तप). We have to clarify here what 'तप' means. 'तप' is the sacrifice of one's own happiness to act for the good of the others. I find from what I have read in the newspapers and the study of the King's life that he is a tapasavi (तपस्वी). The life of King Mahendra is one of daily discipline and he spends over sixteen hours a day pouring over state papers.

It may be said that the position of the Panch in his sphere is equi-significant to that of the kings. In fact, it is stated that 'Panch' and the king are two manifestations of the same meaning.

The Panch is pure, fearless, justice-loving, upholder of tradition and culture, partyless and a social uplifter. He is the guardian of truth, the protector of the honest and the disabled. There is a story about King Prahlad arbitrating a quarrel between his son Virochan and Kaushik. Both claimed the hand of Keshini (केशिनी). Keshini said that she would marry the person who was the higher in status of the two. Kaushik said he was a Brahmin (ब्राह्मण) and therefore higher in status. Who is a Brahmin (ब्राह्मण) will be clarified at a later stage. Virochan said that he was heir-apparent to the throne of the kingdom and hence higher in status. The winner was supposed to cut the head of the loser.

King Prahlad said that the Brahmin (ब्राह्मण) was higher in status and hence deserving of the girl and Kaushik (कौशिक) could

People on this globe know that the Fountain-head of all power has gifted some of them with fine intellect and rare faculties of venturing to the Moon and Venus. They also have faith in God (Truth) or it may be called "Nature", receiving power from the Omnipotent. If they or others find fault with other creeds they are sadly mistaken because only those who have not fully discovered the truth of their own faith, sling mud on others getting mud in return. That power is neither male, female nor neutral but everything. This invisible power is visible in all the existing forms of man, woman, animal, plants, water-creatures, vegetables and cereals etc. Such varieties and forms may apparently seem different but in reality, they are not different by whatever name we call them, except to the fanatics. Shakespeare had rightly said, "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." Vedas are the main source of all religions which may be called by any name, leading to the same goal that is Godhead (Bliss). The main theme of our sacred texts is well expressed in the following sloka:—

अयं निजः परो वेति
गणना लघुचेतसाम् ।
उदारचरितानान्तु
वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ॥

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cut the head of Virochan. But such is the justice of the Panch (पञ्च) that Kaushik pleaded with the King that he would marry 'केशिनी' only if Virochan was allowed to live. Innumerable stories of similar sort are found in the Shastras (शास्त्र).

A few hundred years back there was dispute between Adi-shankeracharya and Mandan Misra. The wife of Mandan Misra was made the Panch. She finally judged Shankeracharya to be the winner of the dispute. Later on, both husband and wife became followers of Shankeracharya.

The group of people under the Panch was known as Panchayat. That the Panchayat should function systematically, it was said that it should follow the principle of सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः इत्यादि or 'bliss for all'.

All forms of government also require one helmsman or central authority. They elect a President or a Chairman to conduct and guide them. Thus all kinds of government are in essence not rule by all but rule by one selected by all.

And if we examine the origin and implications of the institution of monarchy, we find that it had its sanction in the will of the people. The sovereignty of the monarch was a delegation of their sovereignty by the partyless people themselves. The institution of monarchy came into being as a noble and lasting form of choosing the Head of the State, because this system has certain distinct and definite advantages in principle as also in practice. In the first place, the principles of heredity—however disliked in the present age—has its overpowering influence on the personality and propensities of the individual. The principles of the Hindu polity were laid down by those seers who had so developed their spiritual faculties that they could divine the occult and the unseen, and could visualise the hoary past as well as the far distant future, with all the attendant circumstances and after appraising them fully, they laid down as the best form of Government centralising in a monarch, to give the institution durability and strength, to administer even-handed justice for the lasting benefit of all. People may not believe in spiritual divination now but the fact remains that it was so. Biologically a son is the extension of the life of the father. He is the image reflection or a reprint of the original, and normally he should inherit the virtues and vices, the power and the pushing energy of his father. Whether it be in selection of cadets of the Army from the martial class or in any appointment requiring skill in arts and crafts, the principle of heredity is widely recognised. That sometimes a very intelligent

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person gets a stupid son or a brave general gets a coward offspring only shows that there are exceptions, but these do not much affect the general rule.

The monarchical system was based on this principle. Apart from this, early environment, education and associations have also a great influence in moulding a child. The inborn traits, deep rooted in our mental make-up, leave indelible impressions and they in their turn influence our outlook and approach to problems, whether demanding executive capacity or judicious discretion.

The ancestors of the ruling princes all over the world including India were brought up and educated on the above lines. Consequently most of them ruled like ideal monarchs. Power and pleasure gradually brought demoralisation in their progeny and generations of contamination deteriorated their heredity. There are a few exceptions—scions of royal clans—who have still running in their veins the pure blood of their ideal forefathers. King Mahendra has given a modern institutional form to this political legacy.

Though at times we come across personages, who have neither nobility of birth nor advantage of a benign education in youth, who yet emerge immensely powerful wielders of great and successful authority; those who believe in the theory of Karma (कर्म) and past birth infer that he must have been a ruler in the previous incarnation. On the whole, we can more safely follow the rule of heredity which ensures, in most cases, good descent and noble upbringing with opportunities to equip oneself advantageously to wield authority.

The monarchical system has no doubt certain imperfections which, when abused, as in the case of some of the princes, bring the whole system into disrepute. But no system can claim to be without some defects. Everywhere there are loopholes. Absolute perfection is to be found only in God or nature, and human beings can only try and devise what appears best under the circumstances. If we examine the original religious texts of the various faiths, we find that the source of authority, whether in religion, society or politics, was the king of the choice of the people. His one aim in life was to serve and not to be served by his people. Divinity was not only attributed but worshipped in him. This bringing in of the element of divinity was only with the object of putting the sovereign on such a high pedestal that he might not stoop to partiality or parochial feeling and his elevation was with a view to inculcate in the public mind the high

"People drawing distinction between man and man by saying 'This one is our own, that one is a stranger,' are narrow-minded. For the ge-hearted the whole w d is family."

A truth-seeker is tolerant towards other creeds which inspire reverence in the unifying power of undying love.

Mankind all over the World is facing a critical situation. The Earth is groaning under the increasing weight of the sins of her population. According to the law of Nature, war and annihilations are bound to occur. The wheel of Action (Karma) runs slowly but continuously. God, (Godess, Truth) spares none for punishment.

It is certain that according to the inexorable law of Nature war must come to rid mankind of affliction by reducing its number. Just as, superfluous foliage on a tree has to be trimmed to nurture its full growth and only then it can flower and fructify and give cool shade. Still one should try to prevent catastrophies. My request, therefore, to the leaders of the World is to explore the solutions to save humanity.

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spirit of service, lasting loyalty and deep devotion which is the ultimate authority of all. In Japan the Emperor has been worshipped for 2,500 years and under his benevolence the country had progressed rapidly.

In some countries the Governments formed one day by men of straw, break up the next day because selfish persons fail to command that unquestionable and imperative authority which is necessary to lend any constitution its permanence and strength. By concentrating loyalty on a fixed point, not transferable by the passing gusts of capricious party manoeuvres and making it lasting almost in perpetuity—which is possible only in a monarchical system—we ensure a stable structure of good government. Examined dispassionately the system does not so much work for any personal aggrandisement of the king, as for the lasting benefit of the people. The king being a wielder of authority on behalf of his people, his life should be one of service of the people. Moreover, we generally observe that when the person is vested with full authority for any work, realising his sole responsibility, he takes a personal interest in it and works intensely, whole-heartedly, nay, even devotedly. So, if a king has a feeling of ownership over his kingdom, that is all the better for his subjects, because he will work with greater responsibility and efficiency than those appointed temporarily as heads of the State. There was a time when kings in their old age renounced everything and voluntarily accepted not only poverty but great hardship although not accustomed to it from birth. Not only they but even their queens, so delicate and frail by constitution, generally followed them and spent the rest of their lives dependent on Nature. They used caves for their houses, hands for utensils and pillow, barks of trees for clothes and wild fruits, herbs and roots for food which nature has provided for every one.

Such examples of renunciation were not to be found in hundreds or thousands but in millions. As they were fully aware they had to leave all worldly things one day, they in their wisdom chose to leave them voluntarily. This clearly manifests how little importance they attached to personal power or self-aggrandisement or have the feeling of being owners of kingdom.

An ideal king never has anything more in his mind than the service of his people. He always feels that his wealth, treasure, even his body, wife and children are dedicated to their service; he is always ready to make the greatest of sacrifices for their good. Judging from the higher and more philosophical point of view, we find that we

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adopted worshipping the image of God even in idols of stone, because we know that God is omnipresent and all-pervading and we feel His Divine manifestation in everything existent. The greatest example of this belief of seeing God in everything is that of Prahlada, who had confidence about God being everywhere and who saw him in everything and proved His incarnation even in a stone-pillar. As such, if we succeed in finding Him everywhere, including the inanimate objects, we can then very well see this special manifestation of power in the king and adore him as a super-normal being, for Lord Krishna has said in the Gita that whatever splendour and glory there is in animate or inanimate objects is but a reflection of the fire of energy or divine lustre of which He is the perennial source.

The political power of which the king was the embodiment was considered to possess the special grace of God and as such deserved special status. The monarch must be an ideal one, fulfilling all the high expectations of the people and possessing all the virtues of a just king, like Rama, who, for his people not only renounced his kingdom but even his beloved wife, Sita, the great Mother of Hindus, the Ideal Goddess, the perfect embodiment of womanly virtues, all for the sake of catering to the whims of a capricious subject. This Rama did because he placed people far above his near and dear ones. In those days a person was judged by ability and action; and Brahmins, sages, and saints, were as a class held superior to all others, because these selfless souls were devoting their lives only to the good of the people and not to any personal gains or pleasures of this world. The king had to rise up as a mark of respect for these sages and they had sacrificed their all for the good of humanity and had neither attachment for, nor acquisition of, any worldly wealth. Those Brahmins had power to dethrone a king from his high office by one decisive pronouncement and the kings, on their part, held them in reverential esteem. King Rama once gave away in charity his entire kingdom to the sanctified sages and hermits but they returned the kingdom and asked him to rule over the same as a trustee of the people. Such was the ancient ideal of monarchy. In essence it was the best political institution.

Although money in the shape of taxes was taken from the people, the Treasury belonged to the people and coffers were freely made available for their benefit in times of famine, floods or other calamities. The treasuries were treated as a 'Reserve' of the people for times of emergency, just as an individual makes provision for a rainy day.

The Panchayat System in India is crumbling down due to self-interest of the Panches and we have to revive the ancient system which is successfully working in Nepal.

My appeal to the citizens of Nepal is to realise that King Mahendra has saved them from political turmoil and ruination. The people's of Nepal have to strengthen the hands of King Mahendra, who is acting swiftly and boldly to save them from the outside Agencies, working in Nepal; and other countries for their personmal gain. Therefore, it is the bounden duty of the Nepalies to have unflinching loyalty and faith in their Majesties in their own interest and safety. All conntries are watching Nepal for its successful partyless Panchayat System. I earnestly request them to introduce this system in their States fot their own interests. I pray that Napal keeps aloft the banner of Hindu tradition.

Their Majesties King Mahendra and Queen Ratna are ideal Hindu Monarchs having faith in their tradition and Hindu Religion, and they act quickly whenever circumstances demand for the welfare of the people of Nepal.

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Such was the character and conduct of kings in ancient India who ruled for the people according to the popular conception of justice and equity. Just as the sun draws up water only to shower it back as merciful rains, so did the ancient kings collect revenue and taxes only to be utilised for the good of their subjects. To ensure the success of the monarchical form of Government, however, the person selected for kingship must be the right one. It may be that despite his intellectual and other abilities he may be found wanting in administrative experience. To obviate this difficulty, efforts should be taken to impart from the beginning proper education and training to the prospective person in administration in all spheres of State activity just as an heir-apparent is given now.

The education and training however need radical change. We should revert to the old system in which princes and paupers sat with equal humility at the feet of their preceptors and while receiving their education lived a celibate life of strict continence and austerity like the other disciplies receiving alms and performing even the menial duties in their teacher's household. This personal experience and outlook served them well when they tackled the basic problems of the masses. But the political philosophy these days inclines a people to the elective form of choosing the Head of the State. In ancient India, and other places in the world, if one had an opportunity to have a glimpse of the king, he considered it a red-letter day in his life. To him the king, representing divinity on earth, was the embodiment of power and justice.

There was a time when there was a head or panch over a village, then another greater head over ten villages, then twenty, then over hundred villages, then over a thousand villages, and over the whole system was the king.

श्लोक : [Extract from Agneya Mahapurana Chapter 223; Shloka 1.]

ग्रामस्याधिपतिः कार्यो दशग्रामस्तथा परः
द्विगुणायाः शतस्यैव सहस्त्रस्य च कारयेत् ।
ग्रामेयान् ग्राम दोषांश्च ग्रामिकः प्रतिभावयेत्
तान् ब्रूयाद्दशपायाऽसौ स तु विंशति पायवै ।।
सौपि विंशत्याधिपतिवृतं जान पदे जनः
ग्रामाणां शतपालाय सर्वमेव निवेदयेत्
यानि ग्राम्याणि भोज्यानि ग्रामिकस्तानुपाभियात्
दशपस्तेन भर्तव्य स्तेनाऽपि द्वि गुणाधिपः

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Other quotations of a similar kind are found in Mahabharat, Ageney-a, Mahapurana, Devi Bhagwat, Padma Purana and Brahma-Vaivart-Purana, "other puranas" and Manu Smriti and other Smritis. This goes to show that the system of Panchayat has existed in some form or the other since the beginning of creation, the system lost its significance in between because of corruption, when selfish interest predominated and the 'Panch' (पंच) stopped caring so much for the welfare of the country and concentrated on personal gain, but the village organisation of the Panchayat remained. One after another powerful people came and went but the 'Panchayat' (पंचायत) remained. The Tamra Patra (ताम्रपत्र) of the south are evidence to the existence of these village panchayats. There are some 'Tamrapatras' (ताम्रपत्र) of Nepal belonging to the reign of Geervan Veer Vikram Sahdev (गीर्वाण वीर विक्रमशाह) which show that a similar set-up existed in Nepal also. Despite everything the system has survived to the present day. Panch in a seminal or modified form is found everywhere. It may be in an altered form, because power is left to some person or persons whether it is communist, democratic or monarchical system. In India, too, there is a Rashtrapati, Supreme Court, Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, Governor etc., there is a head everywhere who decides the issue. He is also a 'Panch' (पंच). Furthermore, the system of Jury International Court, Geneva, UNO also in any dispute between parties and arbitrator is appointed for them in their spheres. Even in modern times in the system of limited company, in the articles it is stated that an arbitrator be appointed to settle disputes. In the Constitution of Nepal also there is a Supreme Court, the King is the Supreme Panch. As stated already in the beginning of the world 'Manu' (मनु) was the king as well as a 'Panch' (पंच) and issues were decided by him. In the middle ages the word 'Panchayat' (पंचायत) disappeared. But the King Mahendra has given a modern institutional form to this political legacy.

There goes the story of the King 'Sudhanva' who asked all his generals to come to the battlefield. When his son disobeyed and did not come at the fixed time he had him burnt alive in a pot of boiling oil to serve as an example of justice and impartiality, and to maintain discipline in the kingdom. The son being dutiful to the kingdom came out unblemished from the boiling cauldron. Also the king should protect the holy cow. Nepal is the only kingdom in the world where cow-slaughter is banned. Nepal is following the tradition which made it a duty of the king to be a protector of the cow and to revere it. In the Puranas there is the story of an ancestor of Raja Ram called 'Dilip' (दिलीप) who was ready to lay down his

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life to save the life of a cow named Nandini. [This is a well-known story from the great classic of Kalidasa — Raghuvansh.] The importance of the cow in Hindu tradition is further illustrated by the story of the sage Chavan who while doing 'Tapasya' (तपस्या) in a river was caught in a net by fishermen. He asked the fishermen, because like the fish he was their property, to release him only after the payment for his body had been made. The King on being asked was prepared to sacrifice his wealth and his whole kingdom for the 'Rishi' (ऋषि). The 'Rishi' (ऋषि) said, do you consider me so worthless — only a cow can equate my value. Hence a cow was considered above the Kingdom and all its wealth. Lord Krishna himself was a cowherd and was also called 'Gopal' (गोपाल) meaning protector of cows. In modern times people like Gandhi and Vinoba have upheld the cause of the cow and maintained that it should be protected and respected. In Nepal King Mahendra and Queen Ratna also cherish and protect the cow with all their mind and might.

The king should keep himself well informed of the activities in his kingdom through an efficient spy-system, he should without guile behave with equality with his son and enemies. If the enemy on surrendering is found to be of help to the 'Rajya' he may be forgiven and treated justly. As Rama says about 'Vibhishan' (विभीषण) in the Ramayan when Vibhishan goes to Ram, that even if my enemy comes to me without any pretence he will be looked after by me.

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम ॥

It is cheering to see that the Crown Prince Birendra Saha Deva educated at Eton (British Public School) and Japan (Tokyo University) is currently in United States to acquire knowledge of administration of Governments. He has equally learnt the Hindu and Nepalese traditional culture and values. There is no doubt, that with his all-round knowledge of men and events of the world, the Crown Prince, as Heir Apparent to the Throne, will help his illustrious father, in the governance of his country, and fulfill the high expectations and wishes of the people of Nepal.

I am the first expounder of the One World Government, with one God, one currency, one language and one flag. I am sure that this consuming desire of mine will materialise fully in my life time, yet if it is realised only in parts, I am equally certain that King Mahendra will, no doubt, achieve it by the wonderful Panchayat system which

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Shri VIRENDRA VIR VIKRAM SHAHADEV
(in National Dress)

CROWN PRINCE
VIRENDRA VIR VIKRAM SHAHADEV

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he has already introduced in his State. I am confident that the Panchayat will serve as a nucleus of World Government.

In King Mahendra we find a unique combination of all these qualities and the one predominant thought in his mind is to see to the welfare of his people. Hardly a day passes when King Mahendra is not amidst the masses taking part in some function or the other. No other Head of State in the world can mix so continuously with the people. May the country under his able rule progress to greater prosperity and that prosperity extend gradually to the whole world !

Now before I conclude with the Ved Purusha's Hymns of blessings, it is essential to explain the caste system briefly so that the sense of the Hymns may better be understood. In India we have four castes, namely—Brahmins (meaning devoted to spiritual learning and sacrifice for the good of others); Kshatriyas (devoted to protect the country as warriors); Vaishayas (to feed the country by agriculture and honest earning in business, to fill the treasury. Therefore they are called Mahajans, also); Sudras (to serve the country by hard work).

This system will exist in India forever as it has a very sound footing of division of mental and physical labour according to varying abilities. Similarly in other countries also the caste system will exist forever in some form or the other mainly in four groups. The society is stratified into scientists or priests, warriors, merchants and the workers. Medical science also has classified blood groups into four only but not into five.

The substance of this article is that the Panchayat envisaged by King Mahendra can serve as the nucleus of a new world order.

RAMKRISHNA DALMIA

ओं आब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतामाराष्ट्रे राजन्यः शूर इषव्योऽतिव्याधी महारथो जायतां दोग्ध्री धेनुर्वोढा नड्वानाशुः सप्तिः पुरन्धिर्योषा जिष्णु रथेष्ठाः सभेयो युवास्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायतां निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलवत्यो नः ओषधयः पच्यन्तां योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम् ॥

शुक्ल यजुर्वेद
अध्याय २२; मन्त्र संख्या २२

"May the Brahmins in your kingdom be austere and the Kshatriyas be valiant warriors, as archers, may they always find their aim! May milk flow in abundance, may the bullocks bear the burden on the fields, the stallions be swift, women like Indrani, warriors be capable of conquering the kingdom of Indra and young men be fluent and fearless in speech! May your kingdom be blessed with happiness and good fortune and may God bless you with a long life!"

"I have a dream of seeing one day the abolition of territorial systems, all owing allegiance to one God, one Flag, speaking one Language—having at least bread, clothing and shelter without discrimination, leading simple, happy, contented and peaceful life—realising Supreme Bliss—Godhead". (Propagated in 1949).

RAMKRISHNA DALMIA

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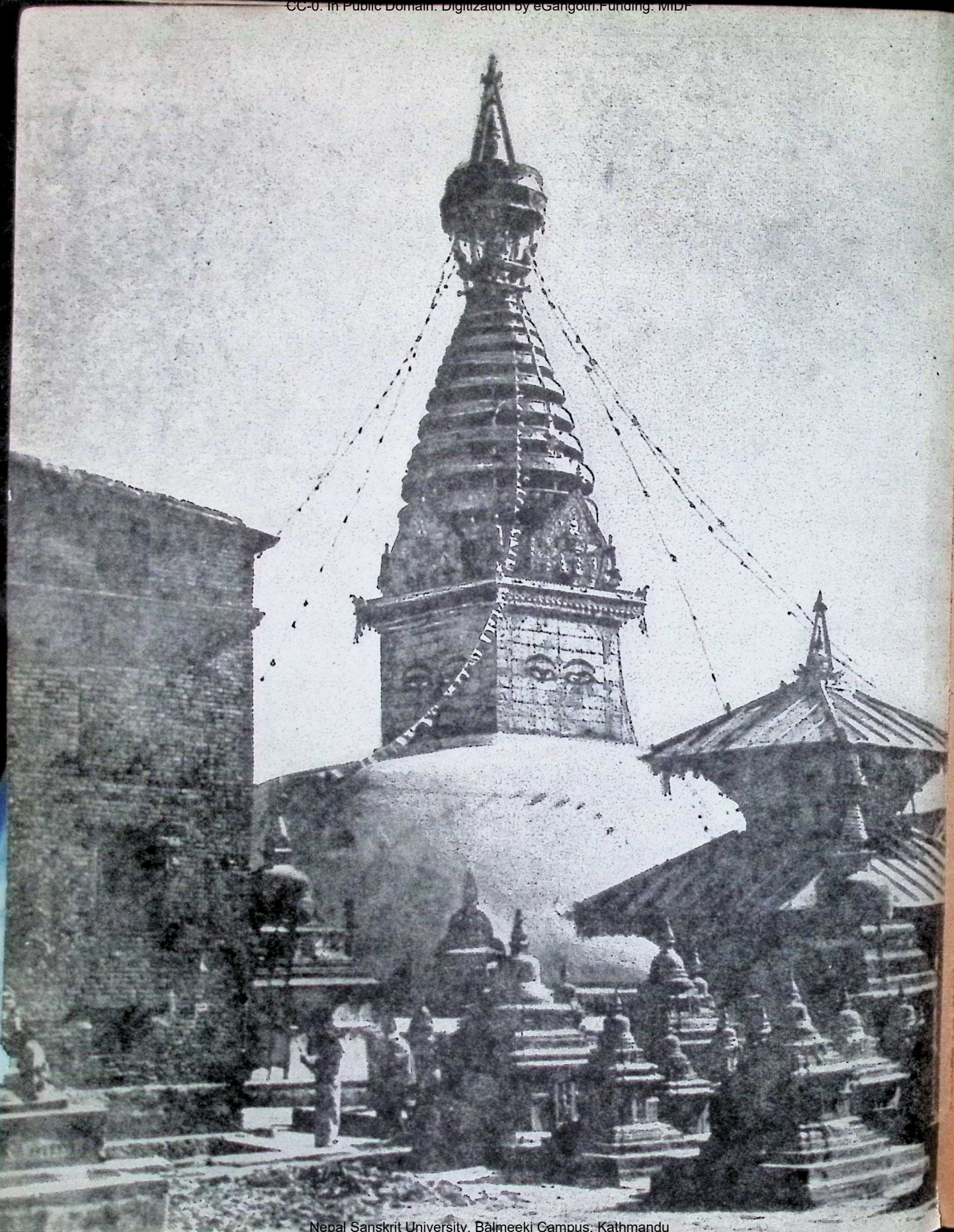

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नेपाल सरकार
राष्ट्रीय संस्कृत पुस्तकालय

सं. १८६९

नेपाल सरकार
राष्ट्रीय संस्कृत पुस्तकालय

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A magnificent carving of the enchanting God of the Hindu pantheon, Lord Shiva, with his beautiful spouse, Parvati, romancing in the Himalayan woods. The Kingdom of Nepal is the abode of Shiva-Parvati and their grace protects the realm.

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